

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. III.—No. XXXIV.—NEW SERIES.

OCTOBER 2, 1848.

PRICE 5d.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

We resume our review of the Slave-trade Papers presented to the House of Commons during its late session, as respects Turkey, Northern Africa, the Persian Gulf, &c.

TURKEY.

It seems that as soon as one avenue for the carrying on of the slave-trade is closed, another opens. In a communication, dated Bagdad, Nov. 14, 1847, Major Rawlinson thus addresses Lord Cowley on the subject:—

"As the emporium of the slave-trade, Mohamrah is now acquiring a consideration which it would have never reached, but for the prohibitory orders against the importation of Africans, in force at Bussorah. The Persian port, indeed, is gradually drawing to itself all that general traffic which should legitimately belong to Turkey, and the cause of so remarkable an accumulation of wealth and traders on the Haffar within these few months, is undoubtedly to be found in the attraction of a free slave market, and the impetus which is given to the barter by the necessity of supplying funds for the purchase of the unfortunate Africans."

The most wily stratagems are adopted in order to carry on the slave traffic, notwithstanding the prohibitory orders against it. Major Rawlinson, in writing to Lord Cowley from Bagdad, thus refers to his attempts to recover possession of ten slaves, who, to avoid detection, were landed at Bussorah, as the private servants of certain merchants, passengers on board the Persian boat:—

"In reference to the importation of the ten Africans, whom I have been in vain endeavouring to trace for the last two months, it was arranged, as the individual slaves had been removed to all appearance beyond the Turkish jurisdiction, that the merchants who had thus violated the law should be fined in the full value of the contraband property they had imported, the object being not merely to punish the importers, but to deter other merchants from engaging in a similar illegal traffic. His Excellency further promised to direct Sadik Bey to adopt all such subsidiary measures as I might propose, after making inquiries on the spot, for giving full efficacy to the orders now in force, excluding vessels with slaves on board from the Turkish ports at the mouth of the Euphrates."

In a subsequent communication, Major Rawlinson says:—

"In regard to the merchants who had smuggled in the Africans in question as their personal servants, and who had subsequently disposed of them at the Arab town of Suk-esh-shook, Sadik Bey assured me, (and his assurance was corroborated by the testimony of my own private agents,) that they had retreated into the interior of Arabia immediately on hearing of the penalties to which they had subjected themselves by engaging in an illicit traffic. Under such circumstances I thought it best to desist from any further agitation of the matter at present; but I acquainted Sadik Bey, that in the event of the parties in question returning within any reasonable time to Bussorah, I should expect his Excellency's orders with regard to their punishment to be carried into execution."

Lord Palmerston, in a despatch dated Dec. 29, 1847, thus addresses Lord Cowley, on the subject of the implication of the Governor of Tripoli in the slave-trade:—

"With reference to recent correspondence on the subject of the cruelties practised in the slave-trade carried on from the interior of Africa to Tripoli, for the supply of Turkish ports in Europe and the Levant, I herewith transmit to your lordship a copy of a despatch from her Majesty's Consul-General at Tripoli, reporting the sailing of an Ottoman brig from that port for Smyrna, having on board sixty slaves. Thirty-seven of the slaves in question are represented to have been the property of Mahomed Sheriff Said, Governor of Tripoli, and who likewise holds the appointment of director of the customs at that port. It is stated that this person, in virtue of the offices which he holds under the Turkish Government, enjoys peculiar facilities, and consequent profit, in carrying on the slave-trade. I have to instruct your lordship to make a friendly

representation on this matter to the Turkish Government, and to suggest to them whether, bearing in mind the extent of the suffering endured by the unfortunate natives of Africa who are brought from the interior for sale at Tripoli, it might not be expedient to instruct the Pasha of Tripoli himself to sustain, and to prevent the persons employed in the official situation under the Ottoman Government, from taking advantage of their position to engage in a trade which inflicts such great miseries on the African race, and is a principal cause in preventing improvement in the civilization of the nations of that continent."

To which, Lord Cowley made the following reply:—

"Previously to the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 29th of December last, I had, as a previous despatch will have informed your Lordship, been in communication with Ali Pasha on the subject of the traffic in slaves practised by the Governor of Tripoli; and I had received an assurance from his Excellency that measures should be taken by the Porte to prevent so high an officer from engaging in so vile a commerce."

"It is the intention of the Porte to send Falaat Effendi, Secretary to the Supreme Council of Justice, to Tripoli, in about ten days, to inquire into the origin of the revolt that has lately occurred in that province. He will be charged at the same time with orders from the Ottoman Government to the Governor of Tripoli, to desist from pursuing further the trade in slaves."—*Slave-trade Papers, Class D. pp. 12-15.*

TRIPOLI.

Mr. Consul Crowe, writing to Lord Palmerston, from Tripoli, under date February 10, 1847, says:—

"According to a statement received from Mr. Vice-Consul Gagliuffi it appears, that the number of slaves brought to Mourzouk during the last year was as follows:—

From Soudan	561
„ Bornou	494
„ Ghat	20
Total	1075

"Of these, about 650 were women and girls, the number of females generally exceeding that of males by one-third. The mortality on the road had been less than usual, not amounting to one-tenth. The price of males had been from 25 to 30 dollars each; of females, from 30 to 65 dollars, according to their age and beauty."

"The Vice-Consul at Bengazi states, that a caravan is expected there shortly from Waday, bringing ivory and ostrich feathers, and a number of slaves, who will be there sold and shipped off for the Levant. He states, that in May last, 400 of these unfortunate creatures were embarked in one vessel bound to Constantinople; but that, during the voyage, no less than one-third of the number died from the effects of disease, caused by the closeness of their confinement on board. About 1,200 slaves were shipped from this port during the last year."—*Ibid. p. 67.*

Vice-Consul Gilbert, writing from Bengazi, under date April 12, 1847, to the Consul-General Crowe, notes the arrival of a caravan from Fezzan, bringing about 300 slaves, chiefly females, intended for Constantinople. From information obtained, he had learnt that 1,200 had left Fezzan with the caravans, a portion had gone to Tripoli, others to Egypt, and 300 to Fezzan.

In a subsequent communication, dated Bengazi, September 10, 1847, he thus notes the arrival of a large caravan from Waday:—

"The long-expected caravan from Waday arrived here this morning, bringing about 1,000 slaves, and 300 cantars of elephants' teeth. The journey from Waday has occupied exactly five months. The mortality among both the slaves and the camels has been very great, but it is difficult to ascertain the real number of casualties. I have been informed for certain, that between Angola and Bengazi (a journey of eight days), 32 slaves died, or rather were abandoned to their fate."

"The greater proportion of the slaves are females, who appear to be very young, but have arrived in good condition, considering the distance they have travelled. I have been told that the chief reason of so many

being abandoned on the journey is not so much the scarcity of food and water, but that, from the swelling of their feet in traversing the hot sands, they are unable to keep up with the others, and there being no spare camels to carry them, they are left to die in the desert."—*Ibid.* p. 69.

The closing of the Slave Market, at Constantinople, has not produced the favourable results which were anticipated. Mr. Consul-General Crowe, writing from Tripoli, under date October 5, 1847, thus refers to a despatch received from Vice-Consul Gagliuffi:—

"I had hoped that the closing of the Slave Bazaar, at Constantinople, and the heavy duty levied on the exportation of slaves from this regency, would so much discourage speculation, that the traffic, at no distant period, would be abandoned. But, if the statement made by Mr. Gagliuffi be correct, a new and more profitable channel is opened to this detestable commerce, and a worse fate attends the unhappy victims; for instead of the easy duties and mild treatment of domestic servants, which would have been their lot in the Levant, they will be subjected to the painful toil of field-labour, and the unfeeling brutality of the slave-driver."

The subject is thus further alluded to in a despatch of Vice-Consul Gagliuffi:—

"Persons arrived from Ghat assert, that in that town there are no more slaves to be disposed of, as several Suafa dealers, commissioned by Algerines, arrived there, and purchased all those that were to be sold, at the high price of 50 dollars each the male, and 100 dollars the female, paying in ready money. As most of the payments were made in five-franc pieces, it seems that what they say is not without foundation, that some Frenchman from Algeria transports them to Brazil and America."—*Ib.* pp. 69, 70.

The following extract, relative to the trade of Bengazi, is taken from the report of Vice-Consul Gilbert, dated September 27, 1847:—

"Caravans arrive here every second year from Waday.

"From 800 to 1,000 slaves are brought by each caravan; three-fourths being young females, and are either slaves born at Waday, or kidnapped from Bornou. Those from Bornou are most esteemed, as being in general more docile and better tempered than those born at Waday. Numbers perish in crossing the desert, from thirst and over-fatigue.

"Small caravans come at irregular periods, two or three times in the year, from Fezzan, each of which brings ostrich feathers, gold-dust, and about 150 slaves. The price of a male slave is about seventy mahbubs; of females, according to their shape and beauty, from 25 to 100, in some few instances more.

"On an average, about 700 are exported from Bengazi in the year, chiefly to Constantinople and Canea."—*Ibid.* p. 73.

SLAVERY IN PERSIA.

The following statement in relation to the condition of slaves in Persia, and the mode of supply, is taken from recent official papers. It does not appear on what authority it rests; but it reminds us forcibly of the attempts which have always been made, in this and other countries, by the apologists for the vile system, to strip it of its more cruel features, so that it might be less the object of execration and abhorrence than it otherwise would be. As the writer says nothing respecting the law of Mohamedan slavery, we beg to supply a correct view of it, drawn from an authoritative exposition by some of the most learned doctors of that faith in India. They say:—

"The Mohamedan law recognises slavery originating in the following sources, viz.:—Capture of infidels in war; birth, as issue of a female slave; to which some authorities (who are chiefly followed) have added sale of their offspring by parents, in a dearth or famine. *The property is so absolute and complete, that it is assigned as a reason for subjecting an owner to no worldly punishment or penalty for the murder of his slave: he has, of course, entire power over his person, being restrained by no provisions of the law to protect the slave from ill-treatment.* Manumission cannot be exacted from the owner, unless in the case where, for some cause, the slave is already emancipated in part; in which case he is entitled to redeem himself by emancipatory labour equivalent to the remaining portion of his value. In all other instances emancipation depends wholly on the will of the owner. But manumission of slaves is strongly recommended as a pious act, and the law leans much against the slavery of Mohamedans. A female slave bearing issue to her master does not acquire freedom, but gains other privileges, of which the chief is that of not being liable to be sold to another person. Her issue is free, and ranks with other illegitimate but acknowledged offspring of her mother."

According to the most eminent expounders of Mohamedan law—"All men are by nature free and independent; and no man can be a subject of property, except an infidel, inhabiting a country not under the power and control of the faithful. This right of possession which the Moslems have over heurbees (*i. e.*

infidels fighting against the faith), is acquired by *istula*, which means the entire subduement of any subject of property by force of arms. The original right of property, therefore, which one man may possess over another, is to be acquired solely by *istula*, as defined above, and cannot be obtained, in the first instance, by purchase, donation, or heritage." Such slaves, and such only, become legal property, and are transferable by gift, sale, or inheritance. "The same rules are applicable to slaves of both sexes." Children born of female slaves, "by any other than by her legal lord and master, whether the father be a freeman or a slave," are "subject to slavery," and "are called *Khanazad*, that is, born in the family."

It must be clear from this exposition of the law, that the most fearful cruelties can be perpetrated on slaves by their owners, and, were it necessary, instances can be produced to show that the Mohamedan, as well as the nominally Christian slave-holder, is not to be trusted with the liberty, the lives, and the happiness of his fellow-men.

The following is the statement referred to above:—

"Slaves imported into Persia through the southern ports are of two kinds—the Sewahilee, or African, from the coast of Zanzibar, the territory principally of the Imaum of Muscat, and Hubshee, or Abyssinian, from the shores of the Red Sea, Jedda, Howdeidah, Mocha, &c.

"Slaves are but rarely kidnapped by the crews of the boats in which they are shipped for exportation, or indeed by the merchants themselves immediately on the coast, but by people employed for that purpose in the interior. A proportion are prisoners made in the petty wars between hostile tribes, and sold by them into slavery.

"Muscat and Soor are the principal primary ports to which slaves, from whencever shipped, whether Zanzibar or the Red Sea, are brought, and whence they are eventually carried into Turkey, Persia, Sindh, the Arab States, and even our own territories, the western coast of India. The boats conveying them made coasting voyages, selling individuals of their live cargo at the several ports at which they may touch. Of the above countries, Turkey consumes by far the greatest proportion, Bussorah and Bagdad being the largest marts.

"No vessels proceed direct to Zanzibar from any of the Persian ports, with the exception of Lingah, whence three or four boats are annually dispatched, each returning with about seventy slaves.

"The season for the Gulf traffic in slaves is included between the 1st July and the 1st November.

"At Bushire and the other Persian ports there are no particular spots allotted for slave-markets, nor any fixed for the sale. On the arrival of a boat, the owner takes the slaves, or a number of them forming his cargo, to a hired dwelling, where they are sold privately, or to a caravanserai, where they are publicly exposed for sale. Should the market happen to be overstocked, or the owner find any obstacle to the expeditious disposal of his property, they are re-shipped and conveyed to Mohamrah, or Bussorah, or even to Bagdad, at either of which places they are pretty certain of finding a ready sale.

"The treatment of the African slaves is at no time either severe or cruel. During the sea voyage they are not bound, or kept under particular restraint. Rice, dates, and fish, in sufficient quantities, form their food, and a coarse cloth round the middle of the body constitutes their only clothing. From the moment of their purchase at their eventual destination, however, their condition is materially improved, and, considered in the light of valuable property, liable to loss from sickness or death, are comfortably provided for and amply fed by their masters. They in return work hard, willingly, and well, and are apparently happy and contented.

"Mules are furnished for their conveyance when purchased for resale in the interior. The males are employed in all hard and out-door work, the females in cooking and other domestic but menial duties, and but very rarely as concubines, except among the poorer and lower classes.

"The Hubshee slaves of either sex are at all times much cared for, well clothed, and well fed, and treated by their masters with almost equal attention with the members of their own families.

"The males are early sent to school, and having learnt to read and write, are employed in the performance of house duties, as peishkhidmuts, &c., and not unfrequently, if intelligent, in the most trustworthy situations, as supercargoes of vessels, stewards, and superintendents. The females are most generally retained as concubines, or employed as attendants in the harem, in bringing kaleeoons, and other light duties. The honesty and intelligence of the Hubshee slaves are almost proverbial.

"Nubian and Hubshee eunuchs are rare, are of very great price, and only purchased for the service of the king, nobles, and very rich merchants. Boys are made eunuchs previous to their embarkation; and it is reported that in consequence of the ignorance of the operators, and the cruel mode of operation, of ten thus mutilated, one only on an average survives.

SLAVE-TRADE IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

"The following statement of the numbers annually imported and sold at the Persian ports, is the result of inquiries made at Bushire:—

	Africans.	Abyssinians.
At Bushire.....	250	25
Lingah	350	15
Congoon	150	10
Bunder Abbas	300	20

And allowing an importation of 100 or 150 of the former, and 10 of the latter, to Asseeloo and other numerous small ports, would give a total of 1,150 and 80 respectively, annually imported into Persia through the ports in the Gulf; but this by no means forms the whole number that find their way into the interior of that country. The large number of pilgrims that proceed annually to Mecca and Kerbelah return with slaves averaging, rich and poor, one to each pilgrim.

"An estimate of the number of slaves conveyed annually to Koweit, Bussorah, and Mohamrah, may be pretty accurately formed from the following facts, derived from a register which was kept during a portion of one season at Karrack, during the period that island was occupied by the British troops."

From this register it appears that there arrived at Karrack, during the months of August, September, and October, 1841, 117 boats, having on board 1,217 slaves, of whom 578 were men, and 639 women.

"The aggregate here may be fairly increased by one-half, on account of the lapse of a portion of the season before the register was commenced, and on account of boats conveying slaves which probably proceeded direct to their destination without touching at Karrack, and would thus amount to 1,828.

"Supposing that the trade in slaves with the ports on the Arabian coast since 1831, when an estimate was made by Major Wilson, then resident, has not materially altered, we shall have, in addition to the above—

300 slaves to Bahrein;
30 to Ras-el-Khymah; and supposing
100 more to the ports of Debaye, Amulgavine, Ejinan, and Aboo-thabee,

430; making a grand total of 3,488 annually received into Persia, and five or six small towns of Arabia only.

"Large as this number may appear, it is allowed with regret, that if any error has been made, it has been on the side of detraction, and not of exaggeration; and it must be further remembered that it does not include the slaves brought to Muscat for sale on the spot, or for exportation, as before stated, to the ports of Sindh, and even India.

"The improved means of gaining information, and the greater earnestness with which the attention of the British political agent has been directed to the traffic in slaves, would account for the apparent increase in the number of individuals now annually imported, when compared with estimates of former years.

"Of African slaves imported, the number of males bears a pretty equal proportion to that of the females. Of Hubshees, the greater number are females, in the proportion perhaps of two to one.

Price of Africans at Zanzibar:—

Boys from 7 to 10 years of age	7 to 15 dollars.
" " 10 to 20 " " " " " "	15 to 30 " "
Full-grown men " " " " " "	17 to 20 " "

"The females are somewhat more valued than the males: a good stout lass will sell for 35 or 40 dollars. The profit on the above at Muscat is 20 per cent., and at Bussorah and Bushire never less than 50 per cent.

"The Hubshee females are much prized for their beauty and symmetry of figure; their value from 60 to 200 dollars, or indeed to any amount. The males also are much valued; their price from 50 to 150 dollars, and upwards.

"The slaves of either sex, whether Hubshee or African, of an age exceeding 20 years, on their first sale, are of less comparative value, from their being at that mature age less tractable, and taking less kindly to the language, religion, and customs of their masters.

"A tax, amounting to about half a dollar, is levied upon every slave at the ports of Bussorah, Bushire, Lingah, Bunder Abbas, and Muscat."—*Ibid.* pp. 56—59.

Notwithstanding the treaties entered into between the Imaum of Muscat and the English Government, for the suppression of the slave-trade in the Persian Gulf, it is evident that an extensive traffic in slaves is still maintained. The following is an extract from a despatch of Major Hennell, dated Bushire, September 16, 1847, addressed to Lieut.-Colonel Shiel on the subject:—

"I regret to acquaint your Excellency that several vessels from Lingah on the Persian coast, and the Arabian possessions of his Highness the Imaum of Muscat, have lately arrived at Bushire with cargoes of slaves, brought partly from Berbereh, Soor, and Muscat, but as far as I can

learn, none from Zanzibar. About 200 slaves have been sold in Bushire; of these the greater portion was composed of Abyssinian females. Due intimation having been given to Captain Lowe, the senior officer of the Indian navy on this station, of this open violation of Article III. of the treaty for the suppression of the slave trade, agreed upon between his Highness the Imaum and the British Government, on the 2nd of October, 1845, he took his measures with so much prudence and skill, as to capture eleven native vessels belonging to Muscat, with slaves on board, after they had left the port of Bushire and were fairly on the high seas. Many other boats were at the same time searched, but as they had taken the precaution of disposing of all their slaves before leaving port, no proof existed against them of their being engaged in this traffic, and they were consequently liberated and allowed to proceed on their voyage.—*Ib.* p. 43.

"The boats belonging to Lingah, and other Persian ports, continue to prosecute the slave-trade with the utmost activity. Exempt from all molestation by our cruisers in the Gulf of Persia, they throng into the river Euphrates; and as the Turkish guard-ship has been now withdrawn from the mouth of the Haffar, no obstruction whatever exists to the assemblage at Mohamrah of all the vessels engaged in this hateful traffic.

"I am assured, indeed, that at the present time there are nearly 1,000 African slaves exposed in the slave-market of that port, and the sufferings of these unfortunate creatures, crowded together in an unhealthy and miserable hamlet, like that which Persia possesses on the Haffar, are described as most appalling."—*Ibid.* p. 19.

Captain Hamerton, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated Zanzibar, December 23, 1846, thus refers to a communication he had had with the Imaum on the subject:—

"His Highness is in great doubt and anxiety as to the conduct likely to be pursued by the maritime chiefs of the Persian Gulf, over whom he has no control, and with whom it is necessary for the Imaum to preserve as far as possible the most friendly relations.

"His Highness has written to those chiefs, informing them of his having concluded the Agreement with Her Majesty, and telling them that they could not now procure slaves from the African possessions, and that their vessels being found at sea with slaves on board, coming from his African dominions, would bring upon them the displeasure of the British Government. They have been in the habit of stealing numbers of slaves from the Imaum's African dominions every year, even from Zanzibar, yet the Imaum has never been able to prevent their doing so. They come to Zanzibar in considerable numbers, but the Imaum's people could not come to open rupture with them; and when it is considered and understood with what ease the maritime chiefs of the Persian Gulf (on both coasts) could procure the Turkish and Persian flags to cover their vessels, it is somewhat difficult to foresee how they can at present be prevented from carrying slaves from the coast of Africa, even from places within the dominions of the Imaum of Muscat.

"The Imaum has given to his officers on the coast of Africa subject to his control, the most positive and peremptory orders to prevent the export of slaves from his dominions; but when the great profit derived from the sale of slaves, and the traffic being so consonant to the feelings of the Arabs, is duly considered, it cannot be wondered at if, at first, instances of his Highness' orders being disregarded may be found to exist."—*Ibid.* p. 65.

One of the obstacles to the suppression of the slave-trade has been removed, the Ottoman Government having consented that the importation of slaves into their ports within the Persian Gulf shall cease. The fact is thus alluded to by the Hon. H. Wellesley, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated Constantinople, Feb. 1, 1847:—

"Although I have abstained from unnecessarily troubling your lordship with any details respecting the progress of the negotiation to induce the Porte to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government for the suppression of the African slave-trade within the Persian Gulf, it is not to be inferred that I have been equally forbearing with the Ottoman Government. I am happy to add that the result of these negotiations is most satisfactory. The Sultan, desirous of showing his anxiety to meet the wishes of the Queen, and of proving the friendly spirit that animates his conduct towards Great Britain, has consented that the importation of African slaves into His Majesty's ports within the Persian Gulf shall cease; and His Majesty has further been pleased to order that some Ottoman vessels shall be sent into the Persian Gulf in the ensuing spring, to cruise with those of Her Majesty, in order to prevent a continuance of this infamous traffic within those waters."—*Ibid.* p. 6.

The independent chiefs on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, have also entered into engagements with the British Government for the final suppression, on the part of themselves and their subjects, of the traffic from the African coast. Major Hennell, in a despatch to Lord Cowley, dated 8th May, 1847, thus alludes to it:—

"Having made you, in some measure, aware of the extent to which

the slave-trade was carried on, and the nature of our relations with the independent Arabian Sheiks of the Persian Gulf, in respect to the traffic in question up to this time, it is with sincere satisfaction that I am now able to acquaint you with the successful result of my endeavours to persuade the several chiefs to join in the humane efforts of the British Government by consenting, each in a separate agreement, to the total abolition, on the part of themselves and their subjects, of the African slave-trade."

The following is a translation of the engagement:—

"It having been intimated to me that certain conventions have lately been entered into by his Highness the Imaum of Muscat, and other powers, with the British Government, for the purpose of preventing the exportation of slaves from the coasts of Africa and elsewhere; and it having moreover been explained to me, that in order to the full attainment of the objects contemplated by the aforesaid conventions, the concurrence and co-operation of the chiefs of the several ports situated on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, are required: Accordingly, I, Sheik Sultan ben Sagger, Chief of the Joasmee tribe, with a view to strengthen the bonds of friendship existing between me and the British Government, do hereby engage to prohibit the exportation of slaves from the coast of Africa and elsewhere, on board of my vessels and those belonging to my subjects or dependents. Such prohibition to take effect from the first day of Moharrem, 1824, A.H. (10th December, 1847, A.D.)

"And I do further consent, that whenever the cruisers of the British Government fall in with any of my vessels, or those belonging to my subjects or dependents, suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, they may detain and search them, and in case of their finding that any of the vessels aforesaid have violated the engagements, by the exportation of slaves from the coast of Africa or elsewhere, upon any pretext whatsoever, they (the Government cruisers) shall seize and confiscate the same."—*Ibid.* pp. 7, 8.

THE SHAH OF PERSIA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The slave-trade papers recently laid before Parliament contain the correspondence which has taken place between the British Government and the court of Tehran, relative to the abolition of the African slave-trade with Persia. It appears that the Shah and his principal minister had virtually promised to issue a Firman prohibiting the traffic, in the event of its being found not contrary to the Mohamedan religion, and that the Sublime Porte concurred in a similar measure. The objections of the Shah to the prohibition of the slave-trade are set forth in an official communication from Hajee Meerza Aghasei to Lieut.-Col. Shiel, viz.:—

"9 Zil Hijeh, 1846.

"I have had the honour to receive and to lay before His Majesty the Shah a letter which you lately addressed to me, and in which you stated that the British Government was deeply anxious for the extinction of the trade in negro men and women, and that this iniquitous traffic should be universally abolished; and that it therefore wished a firman should be issued by his Majesty the Shahinshah, prohibiting the trade in negro men and women in the ports of the Persian Gulf belonging to Persia.

"His Majesty's commands are, 'that the purchase and sale of negro men and women are sanctioned by the precepts of our resplendent faith, and we cannot therefore issue commands to the people of Persia, that that which is lawful by the law should be unlawful to them. Secondly, the Ottoman Government is equally a Mohamedan Government, and the traffic in negro men and women exceeds in that country all other places. Let them [the British Government] convey an intimation on this subject to the Porte, and let them announce the answer to us. This exalted Government will then give a suitable reply.'"—*Slave-trade Papers, Class D. 1848, p. 23.*

In consequence of the opposition of the Shah, on religious grounds, to the abolition of the slave-trade, Col. Shiel procured, from six priests of reputation in Tehran, separate decisions on the question whether it would prove repugnant or injurious to the Mohamedan faith. The following are their replies:—

"No. 1. What do the learned doctors in religion and the law decree on the following point. If they should abolish the transport of black male and female slaves, and abstain from the traffic, is it any injury or not to the faith? Let them declare this, that it may be known.

"Decree. Selling male and female slaves is an abomination according to the noble faith. 'The worst of men is the seller of men' (tradition of Mahomed). God it is who knows.

"Sealed by Moollah Mahmood Andermanee.

"No. 2. What do the learned doctors in the law and religion decree on the following point. If they should discontinue the traffic and trade of male and female slaves, is it any injury to religion?

"Decree. In the name of the Great God, trading in, and buying and selling male and female slaves is not unlawful, but it is an abomination, as is stated in the tradition, 'the worst of men is the seller of men,' which

is attributable to its baseness. If it is abandoned on this account, it is good, but if on account of its being unlawful, it is wrong.

"Sealed by Moollah Ali Kennee.

"No. 3. The question is the same as in No. 1.

"Decree. In the name of God, selling male and female slaves is a disgraceful traffic, and abandoning it is worthy and honourable. It is one of the traditions that 'the worst of men is he who sells slaves.'

"Sealed by Agha Mahomed Jaffer Tehranee.

"No. 4. What do the learned doctors in the religion and law of Islam decree on the following point. If a Mussulman should trade in, and buy and sell negro slaves, and should bring them by all sorts of deceits and contrivances from their own country; and they now desire to discontinue the trade and transport—is it an injury to the religion of that Mussulman?

"Decree. The act of selling men, and trading in them is abominable, and it is certainly better not to do it.

"Sealed by Agha Mahmood.

"No. 5. The question is the same as No. 1.

"Decree. No, it is no injury to the faith. Moreover, this trade, according to the law, is one of baseness; to discontinue it is best.

"Sealed by Agha Mahmood, a doctor of divinity of great celebrity.

"No. 6. The question is the same as No. 1.

"Decree. If they should abolish the sale of male and female slaves, and the conveyance and transport of them, it certainly is no injury. I may even say that the discontinuance is best.

"Sealed by Moollah Hoossein Booroojerdee."—*Ibid.* p. 28.

Fortified by these opinions, the British resident renewed his application to the Shah, and, at the same time, announced to him that the Turkish Government had entered into an agreement with Great Britain for the suppression of the traffic, but all that he could get in reply was the following letter:—

"May 12, 1847.

"Your Excellency wrote to me requesting that the practice of importing black slaves should be discontinued, and that you were expecting an answer.

"According to your Excellency's wish, I took and delivered this letter to His Majesty the Shahinshah, and brought it under His Majesty's notice. In answer to the request made by your Excellency, according to the meaning conveyed in the auspicious handwriting of His Majesty, it is commanded thus, and the meaning of the auspicious handwriting is as follows:—

"My slaves in Bokhara and Khiva amount to 200,000 or 300,000 in number; why did they [the English Government] prohibit me [from releasing them]? If the act of making slaves be wrong, why is it not so in those places? And besides, the day I saw the English minister, he admitted that I was right.

"The minister did not make this inquiry according to our law.

"If, by prohibiting the importation of black slaves, I should be the means of preventing 5,000 individuals from embracing the Mohamedan creed, according to our religion I commit a great sin, and our name will be of very bad repute."—*Ibid.* p. 32.

The insinuation respecting the course taken by the British Government, in relation to the Persian slaves held in captivity in Bokhara, was without foundation; for it had not only expressed its sympathy for these unhappy persons, but had offered to send a special agent to Khiva on their behalf.

In reply to the foregoing communication, Col. Shiel, after stating that the "Persian Government is pledged to that of England, as strongly as words and promises impose an obligation," and that "the British ministers now claim the performance of those promises," observes:—

"The question stands thus:—England has obtained the concurrence of several nations in objects in favour of humanity, and has formed engagements with them for that purpose; but these designs and these engagements are entirely frustrated, and rendered of no avail by the resistance of this Government. This is an act of unfriendliness which no nation commits towards another friendly and allied Government; least of all, is it justifiable in the Persian Government to make this requital of all the exertions of the British Government in favour of this country."—*Ibid.* p. 34.

The pertinacity of the British resident seems to have put the Persian minister at his wits' ends, for he invokes the stipulations of a treaty that "a single categorical reply is sufficient, and that persistence and pertinacity should be abandoned." The Shah was determined, notwithstanding the decrees of the Moollahs, to consider the slave-trade as a means of proselytism—a part of the Mohamedan religion. In reply, Col. Shiel insists that his questions have not been answered, and that the promises made by the Shah and his ministers had not been fulfilled. He was moreover instructed

by Lord Palmerston to state, that treaties had been negotiated with the Sultan ben Sagger, and the Sheiks of Debaye, Ejinan, Amulgavine, Aboothabee, and Bahrein, for totally abolishing and prohibiting the African slave-trade under their respective flags; and that, in future, all vessels in the Persian Gulf, suspected of slave-trading, would be examined, and if slaves were found on board, they would be set at liberty, and that probably the Shah would have to pay them compensation for the loss sustained. The Shah remained inflexible—the substance of all his answers being: “This request is at variance with my faith, which is impossible, and out of my power to perform.” To exculpate himself from the minister, Hajee Meerza Aghasei says:—

“Colonel Shiel has written that I had given a promise. What did I say to him—what promise did I give?—I always said, that acceding to the request of the British Government, when contrary to religious law, was a very serious affair. It is contrary to my religion and faith. He (Colonel Shiel) has written, that Moollahs have issued their decrees—Heaven defend us! One of the Moollahs is Agha Mahmood, who the minister says was one of those who had written a decree. I showed the minister his handwriting and signature. The minister did not write the question to the Moollahs properly, or ask it properly. The English minister himself acknowledged in my presence that this affair would be the means of preventing negroes from becoming Mohamedans. In this case, let him inquire of the Moollahs, and see what answer they will give. In short, I cannot, because the minister says it, give up the Mohamedan and Mussulman faith, or act clearly in opposition to the commands of God.”—(*Ibid.* p. 39.)

Col. Shiel is of opinion that some political motive lies at the bottom of the Shah's opposition, and that the religious one was a mere pretence. In the meantime the slave-trade, which Turkey had stopped at Bussorah, was carried on at Mohamrah, which had been secured to Persia by the friendly mediation of Great Britain. Col. Shiel thus alludes to this point:—

“Your Majesty is already apprised that Turkey has readily acceded to the wishes of England, and has prohibited the importation of slaves at Bussorah and the contiguous ports belonging to the Ottoman Empire.

“Mohamrah, which like Bussorah is situated in the Shat-ool-Arab, has, through the successful negotiations of England, combined with another power, been irrevocably attached to the Persian dominions. But if slaves should continue to be imported through the Shat-ool-Arab to this port, the engagement of Turkey with England to abolish the importation of natives of Africa will be rendered abortive, and the introduction of negro slaves to those countries will be unabated. From the proximity of Mohamrah and the island of El Khizr to Bussorah and other Turkish ports, the utmost facility will be afforded for the continuance of the traffic. The evils that England and Turkey have combined to repress, far from being mitigated, will be, in all probability, increased, and Mohamrah will become a slave-mart.

“The justice and equity which animate your Majesty will yield an admission that the friendship of England towards an ancient ally which contributed to the perpetual and acknowledged annexation of Mohamrah and El Khizr to Persia, ought not to be attended with such consequences. The Government of the Queen of Great Britain will not allow themselves to believe that the fruit of their unceasing exertions for so many years, is the systematic opposition of Persia to the policy and wishes of Great Britain, and the virtual annulment of the engagements of another Government with England. It would be a deep injustice that the gain of Persia, through the instrumentality of England, should be an injury to England.

“With the utmost respect I solicit your Majesty to take this question again into consideration. Every inducement, humanity, civilization, policy, the tradition of the founder of the Mohamedan religion, conspire in favour of an acquiescence in the wishes of the British Government; nor could your Majesty perform any act which could more warmly enlist the feelings and sympathies of the entire British nation towards Persia, and your Majesty's august person.

“I at all events entreat your Majesty to bestow some reflection on the observations I have made, relative to the evils and inconvenience entailed by the absence of any prohibition respecting the importation of slaves at Mohamrah, so that the gratification now enjoyed by the British ministers at the favourable termination of an arduous negotiation, may not be alloyed by the reflection, that through their labours Mohamrah is likely to become a new avenue for the importation of slaves.”—(*Ibid.* pp. 40, 41.)

This appeal was made by the British resident at Tehran on the 4th of June, 1847, but no reply appears to have been given to it. On the 30th March, 1848, Lord Palmerston gives him fresh instructions, in which he says:—

“Her Majesty's Government have now waited many months in the hope that the Shah would have seen reason to reconsider the decision which he came to upon this subject. But they have received with the

utmost regret the intelligence of the pertinacity of the Shah in refusing to forbid his subjects from carrying on a traffic which inflicts such miseries on the unfortunate race who are its victims. Her Majesty's Government have also learnt that the subjects of the Shah are now carrying on the slave-trade, which was formerly carried on by the subjects of the Imaum of Muscat, and of the maritime chiefs of the Persian Gulf, and which the Imaum and those chiefs have prohibited.

“I have accordingly to instruct you again to press the Persian Government in the most earnest manner to prohibit their subjects or flag from being employed in the cruel practice of transporting natives of Africa across the sea for the purpose of consigning them to slavery; and to grant power to Her Majesty's ships and to those of the East India Company to suppress the traffic.”—(*Ibid.* pp. 63.)

JAMAICA.

The following letter from the Chamber of Commerce, Kingston, Jamaica, dated Aug. 21st, 1848, will show the state of feeling which exists there in relation to the Sugar Act of the last session, and which, we believe, will be found to reflect the opinion entertained by most of the West India Colonies with respect to that measure:—

(COPY.)

“Chamber of Commerce, Kingston, Jamaica, Aug. 21.

“SIR, — I have the honour to acknowledge your despatch of the 16th of July.

“The Chamber learns with regret for which it can ill find expression, that ministers have not only persisted, but have succeeded, in pushing a principle to the extent of consigning every interest in the colonies to destruction. After the division on Sir J. Pakington's first amendment, the Chamber had no hope that the recommendations of the committee would be carried out; they are not, therefore, surprised to learn that a second amendment by the honourable baronet, for the adoption of a differential duty of 10s., has been rejected, whilst the loss of Mr. Barkly's motion for a difference of only 4s., is rather a subject of congratulation than of regret.

“The plan of Government, which is now, the Chamber must presume, the law of the land, is purely illusory; as a measure of relief it is an insult—as a means of restoring either confidence or cultivation, it is valueless. The Chamber observes that you have taken steps to enable you to appear at the bar of the House of Commons in support of the petitions from Jamaica; and it hopes that no mere formal impediment has been thrown in the way by Government to deprive the colonists of this shadow of justice. The Chamber does not desire to detract in the smallest degree from the ability and power which it is fully sensible you can bring to bear upon the colonial question, when it expresses its fears that no effort can now change the character of the ministerial proposition. It is so evident that the sugar duties, like many other important political questions, are not to be fixed and decided with any regard to the justice due to those interests principally affected by them, but by the exigencies of party, that the Chamber despairs of any approach to justice from the present Government or Parliament, however touchingly the condition of the colonies may be pictured to them, or however convincing may be the facts laid before them. The session of 1848 has decided the fate of the sugar colonies, and has irrevocably transferred the monopoly of the sugar market to the foreign slaveholder. I use the word ‘irrevocably,’ because when once the transfer is made it cannot be recalled—once allow the sugar plantations in the British colonies to be dismantled, and their cane fields to become forests—as they do in a few years in our climate—and they never can again be reclaimed. Few people in England, of those who are ready and officious in prescribing rules of management for West Indian planters—few of those can form an idea of the cost at which plantations, now abandoned, were settled by the forefathers of their present proprietors—men who transferred themselves and their capital to the colonies at the solicitation of the Crown, and received grants of land on the express condition that they erected sugar works, to be cultivated by slaves—who fought against foreign invaders, and bled and conquered that England might still be their sovereign mother. There are properties now in the course of abandonment whose buildings and works cost as much as from £15,000 to £20,000, and these are now utterly valueless; unless some prosperous sugar planter in Cuba become the purchaser of the machinery at a price within fifty per cent. of its cost, even this will be unsaleable. How, when this breaking up of property shall have taken place, as it must immediately, are the estates at any time, and under any circumstances, to be revived? Who is there at the present moment that would venture to embark the capital necessary to settle an estate anew, with the experience that he has had of the heartless disregard of private rights exhibited by the British Government towards the colonies?

“The Chamber asserts without hesitation that the change in the act of 1846, effected by the new bill, will not stay the abandonment of one

single sugar estate which the operation of the original measure had brought to the brink of ruin, nor can it be expected to induce one single capitalist to venture £100 upon the security of a Jamaica property; and, as regards the trifling loan for immigration and other purposes, the Chamber can see but little benefit to be derived from it. What, it may be asked, is to be done with an increased population, when every succeeding month must throw a large number of Creole labourers out of employment? Is it not very much like a mockery of justice to the colonies to deny us labour when we required it, and to place us (thus scanty of population) under the operation of a system of one-sided free trade, until every interest in the colony has been driven to the extremity of poverty and ruin, and then to offer us labour when our estates no longer exist and we have no longer means to employ it? I do not choose to hazard an opinion as to what will be the exportable produce of Jamaica for the year just commenced. I believe it will be found to be about one-half of that of the past year. This, however, is but the commencement of the end, and ministers must be prepared before a second year has elapsed to pay the price of monopoly to the Spaniard and Brazilian.

"But although the Chamber feels that this must be the natural effect of the present sugar duties, it by no means considers that the property of the colonists should be sacrificed without a final struggle. The colonies do not accept the new sugar bill as a concession to their appeals for justice, or as a settlement of the claims they hold upon the good faith of the nation. They view it only as a denial of justice, and as a repudiation of faith, and they will not permit the agitation of the question to cease so long as any colonial interests remain to be protected. The ruinous and heartless conduct of Government, subversive alike of property and of morals, demands of the colonists that they should adopt all constitutional means of enforcing justice. We have appealed, and we hope not in vain, to the popular branch of the Legislature to refuse a supply. It is but just, and were it not just, it is a work of necessity, that the Government that has rendered us unable to support our local institutions should itself be prepared to maintain them, if they are to be maintained at all. If anarchy and its attendant evils result, the responsibility is not with us.

"The Chamber regrets that the injuries arising from Imperial mis-legislation are in no small degree enhanced by local mis-government. It has been seldom that Jamaica, misrepresented as she has been on frequent occasions, has had to complain of a grievance so aggravated as she now suffers from her Governor, Sir Charles Grey. Perhaps there is no one better competent than yourself to decide as to the feelings and opinions of the people of Jamaica, white and coloured, upon the subject of slavery; connected as you were with this question, at a time when the West Indians were the opponents of emancipation, for reasons which would influence any one whose property, secured by the law, was attempted to be taken from him without adequate compensation; it is certain, that had the remotest thought now dwelt in the bosom of any of us, that it was either desirable or practicable to restore slavery, such a thought would have been communicated to you by some, at any rate, of the many with whom you conversed on the subject of emancipation during your visit to Jamaica. The Chamber appeals to you with confidence, to bear out its declaration, that so far from entertaining such opinions, there is not a sane individual in Jamaica, who has either desired such a step or who would consent to it for a moment. You will imagine, then, with what indignation the white and coloured inhabitants of Jamaica have found themselves openly branded by Sir Charles Grey, the representative of Her Gracious Majesty in this island, with a desire to retrace the step definitively taken in 1833. Had this accusation been merely a hasty expression of mistaken judgment, the Chamber and the public would have considered it unworthy of serious remark; but when they learn that the accusation is a studied one, advanced after consideration, and repeated in no less than four distinct official documents (Enclosures 1, 2, 3, and 4), they can only view it as a premeditated insult, and stigmatize it in the only language applicable to so wicked a calumny. I enclose extracts of the documents in which this charge is advanced, the particulars of which are specified in the margin. What course the assembly will adopt on this occasion I am unable to state, particularly as his Excellency has declined to lay before the house the communications upon which he professes to have founded his accusation (see Enclosure, No. 5); but the Chamber hopes that it will accompany its denial of so grievous an aspersion with a pointed vote, declaratory of its want of confidence in a ruler who can thus assail the community over which he is placed in the most tender point affecting its social prosperity and security.

"In my last I alluded to the suspension of the Planter's Bank, occasioned altogether by the inability of its agricultural customers to meet their heavy engagements to that establishment. The packet has since placed the Chamber in possession of the last report of the Colonial Bank, announcing a loss on the half-year's transactions of £100,000, arising from the disastrous condition to which the West Indian sugar planters have been reduced. These are only additional evidences of the effects of the ministerial policy; but we despair of even these startling facts having their due weight in the annals of the nation. Under the operation of these combined circumstances all those institutions which were necessary to the successful issue of the great scheme of negro emancipation, and

which have been established by the property and intelligence of the colony at so great a sacrifice, must rapidly fall into ruin and decay.

"The Chamber loses no time, after the final decision of Parliament, in discharging that duty which it feels to be incumbent on every West Indian, of expressing the thanks of all interested in colonial prosperity to Lord George Bentinck, for his untiring and disinterested advocacy of our cause. This expression, which is at best but an unworthy return for so great services, the Chamber has endeavoured to embody in the enclosed resolution, which I am requested to pray that you will take an early opportunity of presenting to Lord George Bentinck in the most acceptable manner.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

"W. TITLEY, Chairman.

"Mr. Peter Borthwick."

(Enclosure No. 1.)

Extract from a despatch of Governor Sir Charles Grey to Earl Grey, dated 7th of June, 1847, enclosing a memorial addressed to Earl Grey by the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce.

"The greatest difficulty which I foresee, and which in some degree I experience, in my attempts to put the immigration system on a sound footing and into a wholesome state, is the impression which some planters have got, that the outlay of public money in effecting immigration gives either to the planter or to the Government a sort of property in the labourer, which might justify such coercive exaction of labour in repayment of this purchase-money as it would be difficult in any way to reconcile with substantial or even nominal freedom."

(2.)

"The 'Slavery' Circular.

"King's House, July, 1848.

"Sir,—The enclosed proclamation states the occasion which has caused it to be issued, and in taking that step the Governor has adopted the recommendation of the Custodes and magistrates of all the parishes in which alarm and agitation have prevailed.

"The Governor has not seen any evidence of a conspiracy or combination of any sort amongst the negroes, and the greatest evil which His Excellency has found to be in actual existence is the alarm which has been prevalent amongst some of the white and coloured classes, and a feeling which appears to be growing stronger amongst them, that the emancipation from slavery ought to have been made by slow gradations, and that even now it may not be too late to retrace our steps.

"Whatever may be the right of opinion as to the course which ought to have been pursued at first, the Governor is thoroughly persuaded that both good faith and true policy recommend that there should not be any attempt to retract the smallest portion of the boon which has been conferred by law, and that no legislative measures ought now to be adopted towards the negro population which might not be enacted in relation to the people of England.

"With this view of the case, the object of the Governor has been to leave the black population no reason or excuse for riot, or insubordination, and, at the same time, to neglect no precaution against it.

"Hoping to have your Honour's concurrence in this plan of proceeding and method of government, His Excellency requests that you will publish and circulate the enclosed proclamation, in the manner which your Honour may conceive to be most conducive to the production of a unity and harmony of action amongst all the authorities of the island, and to the preservation of the public peace and maintenance of order.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

"To the Hon.

"P.S.—It is desirable that a copy of the proclamation should be transmitted to each of the clergy of the Established Church resident within your parish."

(No. 3.)

Extract from the Governor's Speech.

"But I am not less firmly persuaded that you stand in dangerous and critical circumstances which, by wilful and desperate courses, or by the erroneous management of public affairs, or by internal dissension and distraction, might lead to great and signal calamity. Here, and in some closely neighbouring countries, the two systems of negro freedom and of negro slavery, and the horrid consequences of an abortive attempt to re-establish slavery after it had once been superseded, stand in fearful proximity. Let no man within this island allow his heart to hesitate, even in secret, as to which of the two opposite and irreconcilable systems shall have his approbation; let no one even think about retracing in a direct course steps which have been irrevocably taken; nor with less certain or with undetermined purposes employ himself in weakening those foundations of social order, which, by so many awful examples, are not merely shown to be requisite for the sustentation of religion, virtue, talent, and refinement in their fit pre-eminence, but which are found at last, when it is too late, to have been equally indispensable for the preservation of peace and for the prevention and exclusion of anarchy and rapine."

(No. 4.)

Extract from the Assembly's Address.

"We feel bound to express how deeply we deplore that your Excellency should have found it necessary, in drawing our attention to these circumstances, and the proximity of neighbouring countries, to infer that there is one man in this island, or a British subject anywhere, so insane, or so divested of just and moral feeling, as to wish to retrace those steps which have led to banishment of slavery for ever from British soil. We, one and all, repudiate even the thought, and on behalf of our constituents declare unequivocally our belief that no such sentiment, even by stealth, has penetrated the heart of any single inhabitant of Jamaica."

(No. 4 a.)

The reply of Sir Charles Grey to the Address.

"Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Assembly—I am happy in knowing that I have never given you any assurances which I was not justified in giving, or on which any reliance on your part would have been misplaced.

"I observe with great, if not with unqualified, satisfaction, that you characterize the idea of any return towards slavery by the names of immorality, injustice, and insanity; and I hope that there is no individual amongst you who will not himself carefully abstain from any language which might create an impression of his entertaining such ideas, and that you will inculcate a like caution on those who may be in your employment, or over whom you may have any influence."

(No. 5.)

Abstract of the Governor's Message, in reply to that of the Assembly, demanding the correspondence on which his charges were founded:—

"9. In answer to the message of the House to His Excellency the Governor, on the 9th instant, requesting the transmissal of the correspondence in respect to the late disturbances, and stating to the effect that His Excellency was apprehensive that this could not be done without producing much mischief, especially as the alarm which had existed had now happily subsided,—the messages were severally read and ordered to lie on the table."

MAURITIUS.

The following is a copious extract from a Manifesto which has been put forth by the press of Mauritius, and which is professedly given for the purpose of expressing their opinions in view of passing events, and their determinations as to the future. They add, that in so doing they express the opinions of the colonists generally.

"We should be concealing the truth, and be advancing a notorious falsehood, did we presume to maintain that Mauritius is not, by its origin, its language, its laws, habits, and affections, impelled towards France.

"The Government is well aware that, if freedom reigned in the world, if the inhabitants of Mauritius were allowed to select a protecting power, their option would be for the nation which founded this colony, the nation from which they have been severed by force, provided, however, they received from her their liberties, without which they would refuse her flag.

"But there does exist an accomplished fact. Mauritius has been ceded to Great Britain. The colonists have acknowledged her sovereignty. They respect their oath of allegiance, and to it they will adhere. Their loyalty will remain unshaken; and the press, far from attempting to disturb it, will give them the example of fidelity.

"We submit then to the British flag, without any afterthought. But, as a return for this frank and loyal submission, we will be dealt with as free men, and not as a vanquished people, as Helots, as slaves. We will have the constitutional liberties of Great Britain, since we are part of her empire.

"We admire, we love the British nation; we sincerely regard all her worthy sons as brothers.

"It is not against her that our bitter complaints are exhaled. It is against the oligarchy which reigns in Downing-street, and tramples down the unfortunate colonies, whence, at this very hour, a universal malediction arises. It is against the local government which tortures us, oppresses us, and insults all colonists in its official dispatches.

"We call upon our fellow-countrymen of every origin to assist us in conquering those liberties which are due to them. We particularly address this appeal to our fellow-citizens of British origin, because we know that their voice will be listened to in preference to our own.

"There exist among them many generous and independent men, who spurn odious national prejudices, and who detest tyranny. We know that they approve our struggle and our efforts. We count upon their assistance.

"The reign of despotism is past. The sublime voice of Republican France has proclaimed the new era of Justice and of Freedom. Thrones fall on every side; despots are overthrown; nations resume their imprescriptable rights.

"And would it be a crime in us to claim ours peacefully, legally, without any violence? An impudent want of faith can alone utter such a reproach.

"We care not for such contemptible clamour. Conscious of the purity of our designs, assured of the unanimous approbation of the colonial community, certain of deserving the esteem of the good men of all nations, we shall pursue our patriotic course. With dignity, with energy, with vigour, we shall demand our liberties; those liberties which our fathers possessed 50 years since, of which they have proved themselves deserving, and of which despotism has bereft them by the force of bayonets. We shall not be found wanting in this legitimate struggle of lawful right against arbitrary rule; and for our motto we shall ever adopt the words engraven on the escutcheon of Great Britain, DIEU ET MON DROIT."

THE SLAVE MART AT NEW ORLEANS.

The hundred slaves were huddled together near the auctioneer's platform, where one by one they were successively to pass under the hammer. The men sat in stoical silence. The women, especially such as were mothers, gazed in anxious grief upon their little ones, as they playfully grouped themselves upon the floor at their feet. The children that but a short time since had been pressed to the mother's bosom, with all the earnest yearnings which none but a mother's heart can feel, were to be sold and separated away to cruel servitude, never more to know the endearments of maternal love. All the ties of consanguinity and friendship were here to be severed for life, and the miserable objects to be sent from the place where all their happy associations had clustered, away to the fever and ague swamps of Mississippi, or to the cotton fields of Upper Texas. And such an outrage upon humanity was to be perpetrated in open daylight, in a Christian city, and witnessed—yes, sanctioned by hundreds of witnesses. One could hardly realize the atrocious fact.

The two next victims are a noble middle-aged man and his wife, who called herself twenty-two. They were not to be sold together—for they would not bring so much money as if sold separately; and, moreover, it seems the design of every one who has anything to do with slaves, to discourage and deaden all the domestic loves to which human nature is addicted. The young wife was first questioned in this manner, that she might perchance recommend herself:—

"How old are you?"

"Twenty-two."

"How long have you been married?"

"Three years."

"How many children have you?"

"None."

And, as she made the last reply in a saddened tone, the tears started from her eyes, and she turned beseechingly to her husband for protection. Upon this the questioner, too, turns ferociously towards him—

"You villain, you—have you lived three years with this wench without having any children?"

Now the true man was seen, although bound in fetters, and trampled in the dust. With form erect, and folded arms, and with a dignity that might have lent lustre to Othello himself, he calmly replies,—

"We have had one, but God took him."

The fact that the woman had been the mother of but one child, and that dead, was the reason for the low price of two hundred dollars for which she was knocked down. She was purchased by a Red River planter, to be turned out into the fields to hoe and pick cotton. The husband was afterwards sold for seven hundred and fifty dollars, to be sent into the swamps of Tennessee as a wood chopper. The two were separated never more to meet in this world.

The last spectacle was as much as we could bear. We thought of our own deep domestic loves, then three thousand miles away. The love and sympathy of the wife so entwined into our own soul, that no fate in time or eternity could separate the two, whose separate existences had become one life. The clinging fondness of the little ones, who will not be content with a separate existence, but insist upon being a part of the parent still. We left the scene, but the anguish of that separated pair followed us,—it has not ceased to follow us since. There was the memory of their little log house, in the skirt of the cotton wood upon the river side; there was the place of their early love, as they had been reared up together on their wealthy owner's plantation; from thence had they entered the precincts of the church, and before God had they

promised to take each other according to God's holy ordinance." There was born to them their little boy, who had gladdened their hearts, and then died; and there, hard by, was his little grave, over which they had wept together, and would only be comforted in believing that God had taken him. In that last long-linging look was crowded the gathering reminiscences of all the happiness they had known in life.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MONDAY, OCTOBER 2nd, 1848.

The present number of the *Reporter* contains the sequel to the several articles which have appeared in former ones relative to the slave-trade. The disclosures which they contain, of the vast extent and accumulated horrors of this inhuman traffic, fill the mind with horror. The facts which we have collected and arranged, were they not established beyond all doubt, on incontrovertible testimony, would appear incredible, and lead to the conclusion that only incarnate demons, not men, could perpetrate such atrocious wickedness. How long this gross outrage on human nature, this daring iniquity, is to triumph over the boasted civilization and enlightened Christianity of the age, is one of the mysteries of Divine Providence; but assuredly a fearful retribution will be exacted of every nation which sanctions it, either by its laws or by its practice. The clouds are even now gathering, the muttering of the storm is already heard in Cuba and Brazil, and it may be expected that when it bursts its fury will be as desolating as the crime which engendered it has been awful. In the Spanish colonies fear has taken hold of their inhabitants, and the least symptom of insubordination among the slaves is converted into insurrection, and punished with dreadful severity. Three years ago, there was a slight outbreak in Cuba, and three thousand negroes were sacrificed. They were torn to pieces by bloodhounds, shot and bayoneted by the soldiery, or literally flogged to death. At night, the gangs of the several estates are locked up in barracoons, guarded by dogs. The negroes of one plantation are not allowed to have contact with those of another. The mayorals or overseers always go armed to the very teeth, attended by their well-trained and fierce hounds; and the constant dread of some terrible calamity seems to haunt all connected with this evil system. In Brazil, we learn by the last mail that a conspiracy, which has been growing to maturity for the last fourteen years, among the black population, having for its object the destruction of the whites and mulattoes, has been discovered; yet we find that at Bahia and Rio de Janeiro the importation of Africans still continues heavy, and the sense of insecurity is overcome by the lust of gain; and thus it will probably be, till some dreadful catastrophe arrives which shall put an end to the atrocious system.

But let it not be supposed that we consider the Spanish and Brazilian Governments and people, the only guilty parties in the crimes of slave-dealing and slave-holding. The stimulus given by the Legislature of this country to the slave-trade and to slavery, by the admission of slave-produced sugar into our markets, involves the nation in guilt also, and, sooner or later, in one form or another, it will have to pay the penalty. We are aware that a certain class of politicians will sneer at such declarations as these; but we confidently believe, that as in the natural world the effect follows the cause, so does it also in the moral; in other words, that neither can an individual nor a nation sin with impunity.

The repeal of the Sugar Act of last session, so far as it relates to slave-produced sugars, we hold to be a duty; and happy shall we be to concur in any energetic measure, with our countrymen, in securing, if it be possible, that object. The questions of free-trade and monopoly sink into insignificance when they are brought into competition with the liberty and the happiness of our fellow-men. Let commerce perish, if it can only be built up on the ruins of human nature; let commerce perish, we say, if it can find its aliment only in the tears, the groans, and the blood of the enslaved and oppressed. Let us then boldly demand the exclusion of slave-grown produce from the British markets; let us not touch, or taste, or handle the accursed thing; let us bear a consistent testimony against the greatest iniquity of modern times, lest the blood of the innocent be found upon our skirts, and we share in the punishment due to so flagrant a violation of human justice and of divine law.

On Monday, the 18th of September, the abolition of slavery throughout every part of the French territories and dependencies abroad, was carried by the National Assembly, without opposition or remark. The decree of the Provisional Government was thus affirmed, and from henceforth, all persons born within the limits of the Republic, or domiciled therein, are free from the degradation of personal slavery. This decision in favour of universal liberty, affirms the rights of nature, the claims of justice, and recognizes the obligations of the Divine law. It is the act of a great people, anxious to repair the injustice and inhumanity of past generations, and to open, to the most abject and oppressed portion of our race, the way of intellectual, moral, and social improvement. Future ages will show the wisdom of this act, and demonstrate that what is just in morals is also true in policy. In the meantime, it offers a great lesson to the United States, to Brazil, and to Spain, in whose territories and colonies there languish in bondage, the victims of unspeakable sufferings, nearly seven millions of innocent human beings, men, women, and children, whose liberty has not been forfeited by crime, but has been wrested from them, by fraud or force, under the sanction of laws which are a disgrace to civilized and Christian communities, and which can only find their parallel in the most barbarous periods of society.

The number of slaves that have obtained their freedom in the French colonies will range between 250,000 and 300,000, including those in Algiers. It is proposed that an indemnity shall be granted to their late proprietors. The first report presented to the National Assembly suggested that the compensation should be 90,000,000 francs, to be distributed in the following proportions:—Martinique, 22,618,216 f.; Guadeloupe and its dependencies, 29,207,477 f.; Cayenne, 5,558,578 f.; Isle de la Reunion (Bourbon), 31,165,503 f.; Senegal and its dependencies, 1,245,051 f.; and Nossibé and Sainte Marie, 175,105 f. In calculating the amount of the indemnity, all adults above sixty years of age, and all children under five years of age, have been excluded. In reference to the mode of payment, it was proposed that it should be divided into twelve annuities, the three first to amount to 12,000,000 of francs each. This project was submitted to a Special Committee of the National Assembly, and they have increased the indemnity from 90,000,000 of francs, (£3,600,000,) to 120,000,000 (or £4,800,000); two-thirds to be paid in cash, and the remainder in stock. On presenting this project, the Minister of Finance warmly opposed the amount of the indemnity, as well as the mode of payment. The final decision of the Assembly has not yet been taken upon this important point. It can hardly be expected, however, after the opposition which the Government is prepared to give to it, that so enormous a sum will be voted to the French planters.

It is a remarkable fact that the emancipated slaves in the French colonies were not only put in possession of personal freedom and civil rights, by the act of abolition, but by the general electoral law, which enacts that all males above the age of twenty-one years shall be entitled to vote, they have become possessed of the elective franchise. The election for representatives in Martinique has taken place, without any of the disorders which it was apprehended would have attended the first practical application of the principle of universal suffrage among the *ci-devant* slaves. The parties elected are MM. Bissette, Papy, and Schœlcher, three men who deservedly have the confidence of the emancipated slaves. The supplementary members are MM. France and Marzuline. The returns for Guadeloupe have not yet reached us. It is expected that M. Vidal de Lingendes, Procureur-General, and M. Jouannet, President of the Court of First Instance, in Martinique, will be chosen as the representatives of Cayenne. Letters from the French colonies state that instructions were sent out against extending the suffrage to the emancipated classes, but that the elections had closed before they were received.

It is satisfactory to be able to report that the greatest tranquillity prevailed in the several colonies, and that arrangements had been made for working many, if not most, of the estates on the Metairie system, in the proportion of one-third for the proprietor, one-third for the labourers, and one-third for expenses. We sincerely hope that the fruits of emancipation will be such as to inspire confidence in all quarters, and issue in the solid and lasting prosperity of all concerned.

The events which have transpired in the Danish island of St. Croix have been of a most painful and alarming description.

Believing that the decree for their emancipation had arrived, and that it was fraudulently withheld from them by their masters, and stimulated by what was taking place in the neighbouring French colonies, the slaves on some of the plantations in that island, determined to ascertain from the authorities the real facts of the case, and, in a body, proceeded to town. All accounts agree that they were unarmed, and that their conduct was peaceable. Circumstances, however, occurred which created considerable excitement among them; and, finally, the Governor, M. Von Scholten, deemed it to be his duty, by virtue of the powers with which he was invested, to proclaim emancipation. The negroes were satisfied, but the Irish and Scotch planters were not, and refused to give the new order of things a fair trial; the militia turned out, and an unfortunate collision took place, in which ten or twelve negroes were killed. Excited by this unhappy circumstance, the blacks became infuriated, and several plantations were set on fire. In the melancholy events which succeeded, it is reported that not less than 131 negroes were killed, but not one white man fell a victim. In order to have the means of coercing the negroes to a still further degree, an application was made to the Count de Reus, the notorious Corporal Prim, to send from Porto Rico a body of troops, which he did, to the amount of 600 infantry, and 100 sappers, accompanied by two mounted howitzers. With this imposing force, in addition to the island militia, the negroes have been obliged to submit, and are now subjected to a severe set of regulations, which have thrown them into despair, and which they find more intolerable than their old state of slavery itself. Whatever temporary triumph may have been gained by the Danish planters over the negroes, during the late painful transactions, it must be evident that, ultimately, they will be the losers. Had they seized the opportunity, on the promulgation of the late decree of the King of Denmark, postponing the period of emancipation for twelve long years, to perform an act of grace, by giving their negroes entire freedom, they would, no doubt, have been able to make such arrangements with them, as to their future labour, as would have been satisfactory to all parties. But now the sense of injury and wrong will rankle in the breasts of their labourers, coerced to toil and strictly confined to the estates, which it will be next to impossible for them to remove. Are there no wise, no moderate men in St. Croix, who will step forward, at this crisis, and attempt to heal the wounds which have been made, and promote a spirit of reconciliation and good will?

One incident occurred during the late unhappy events in St. Croix, which we deeply regret, and for which we are wholly unable to account. It appears the R. M. steamer *Eagle* was despatched to Porto Rico, for Spanish troops; and that it was through her instrumentality they were landed at St. Croix. We should like to know who despatched the *Eagle* on this errand, and what was the consideration, and by whom paid, for this service? According to our view of the case, a very serious error, if not something worse, has been committed by the Commander, who had no authority to divert this vessel, paid for out of the British treasury, from performing her special duties. A searching inquiry into the facts of the case is necessary to satisfy the public mind; and to prevent, in future, a departure from the neutral position which this country should assume in all cases like that to which we have directed attention.

The slave-holders of the United States are beginning to feel the power of the abolition party, and to cry out under the pressure. The triumph of that party, in carrying the Oregon Bill, with the Wilmot Proviso, has excited the indignation and alarm of the entire south. The serious nature of the crisis which has arrived may be gathered from a significant speech recently delivered by Mr. Calhoun, to his constituents in South Carolina. After describing the rapid progress of abolition, which from a few individuals had grown "to be a mighty party," and advising his friends to stand aloof from the approaching presidential contest, neither of the candidates coming up to his requirements, he recommends them, above all things, not to throw away their energies upon minor objects, and adds:—"The time is coming when your united energies will be demanded for the struggle. At the next session of Congress, the contest will be renewed for California, New Mexico, and the territory between the Neuces and the Rio Grande—for the north claims all that. If worsted in that struggle, as there is great probability we will be, we have nothing to hope or expect from the federal Government. He had watched this question of

abolition for years, and from the beginning had predicted the result. There are in the body politic, as in the human system, diseases which, if not promptly arrested, become incurable, and eventually fatal; and it was his opinion from the first, that abolition, if strong and decided measures were not taken to check it, would run its course, and in its progress destroy the Union and the institutions of the country. In his opinion, whichever party at the north was defeated in the presidential election, would go over to the Barnburners. With such an addition to their forces, the party will be most powerful. By rallying a great southern party that will support no man not pledged to the maintenance of the rights of the south and the guarantees of the constitution, a party will be formed in the north, who will co-operate with us. But, if this fails to arrest the spirit of aggression, now so manifest, and the alternative is forced upon us of resistance or submission, who can doubt the result? Though the Union is dear to us, our honour and our liberty are dearer, and we would be abundantly able to maintain ourselves."

If this be not the language of despair, it is of desperation. Mr. Calhoun and his party instinctively feel that the rising intelligence of America is becoming too strong for them, and that their power is fast receding. The threat of a dissolution of the Union is an old one; it has consequently lost its force. Were it to take place, the northern and western free states would suffer little by it, whilst the southern slave states would sink into inanity and ruin. In the language of one of our contemporaries, "The north has hitherto been subservient to the south, and real independence can only be purchased by separation. To this issue events are rapidly tending. The 'Free-soil' movement of but yesterday's organization has already dissolved old party associations. Daniel Webster may call upon his supporters to rally round General Taylor in order to keep out Cass, and Van Buren may be successful in his endeavours to secure the presidential chair; but the anti-slavery movement has, as Mr. Calhoun frankly acknowledges, become a great power in the State—a sure presage of the approaching downfall of the unrighteous system."

The Colonies, as far as they can, are avenging themselves on Lord Grey and the Government for the injuries inflicted on them by the Sugar Acts, of 1846, and of the present year. Jamaica and British Guiana, it appears, intend to stop the supplies, so that the machinery of Government must cease working in these colonies, for want of means to keep it in motion. Undoubtedly the colonies have great cause of complaint, but they are not wholly free from blame. Had they been true to themselves, had their agents and representatives here been true to them, slave-grown sugars would never have entered the British markets, and the embarrassments they have felt, in consequence, would not have occurred. They chose, however, to demand protection instead of prohibition; they stipulated for certain advantages, instead of stoutly maintaining a principle, and they must now abide the consequences. But whilst we say this, we are fully prepared to stand by them in demanding for them greater power in the management of their own affairs. We have no idea that a functionary in Downing-street, however high his station or great his ability, is better able to manage the local affairs of the colonies, than those upon the spot, whose interests are closely identified with its progress and its prosperity. We would extend the representative system to all the Crown colonies, place the elective franchise on a liberal basis, and make the functionaries more responsible than they are at present to the bodies whom they profess to serve. At the same time, we cannot but regret the tone in which colonial remonstrances and protests are now drawn up. There is nothing dignified in them, and they seem to breathe the spirit of menace. In proof of this, we call attention to the communications from Jamaica and Mauritius which appear in the present number of the *Reporter*. Our comments must be reserved for another occasion.

PHILADELPHIA LIBERTY BAZAAR.

Friends who kindly intend contributing to the above are requested to send to either of the undermentioned, by the 20th of the 10th month (October):—Ann Darton, 33, Bishopsgate-street, London; S. A. Alexander, Church-street, Stoke Newington; R. G. Baker, Lee-crescent, Edgbaston, Birmingham; Mrs. Alfred Thomas, Charlotte-street, Park-street, Bristol; Miss Tribe, Portland-street, Kingsdown, Bristol; or to the Anti-Slavery office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

Poetry.

"WHAT IS IT TO BE A SLAVE?"

BY BERNARD BARTON.

Hast thou ever asked thyself
 What it is to be a slave?
 Bought and sold for sordid pelf,
 From the cradle to the grave!

'Tis to know the transient powers,
 E'en of muscle, flesh, and bone,
 Cannot in thy happiest hours,
 Be considered as thine own:

But THY MASTER'S goods and chattels,
 Lent to thee for little more
 Than to fight his selfish battles
 For some bits of shining ore!

'Tis to learn thou hast a heart,
 Beating in that BARTERED frame,
 Of whose ownership—no part
 Thou canst challenge—but in name.

For the curse of slavery crushes
 Out the life-blood from its core;
 And expends its throbbing gushes
 But to swell another's store.

God's best gift from heaven above,
 Meant to make a heaven on earth,
 Hallowing, humanizing LOVE!
 With the ties which thence have birth:

These can never be HIS lot,
 Who, like brutes, is bought and sold;
 Holding such—as having not
 On his own the spider's hold!

'Tis to feel, e'en worse than this,
 If aught worse than this can be,
 Thou hast shrined, for bale or bliss,
 An immortal soul in thee!

But that this undying guest
 Shares thy body's degradation,
 Until slavery's bonds, unblest,
 Check each kindling aspiration:

And what should have been thy light,
 Shining e'en beyond the grave,
 Turns to darkness worse than night,
 Leaving thee a hopeless slave!

SUCH IS SLAVERY! Couldst thou bear
 Its vile bondage? Oh! my brother,
 How, then, canst thou, wilt thou dare
 To inflict it on another?

UNITED STATES.

THE STRUGGLE FOR AND AGAINST SLAVERY IN CONGRESS, AT THE CLOSE OF THE SESSION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—August 1.—Mr. Kauffmann, of Texas, offered the following amendment to the Oregon Bill:—

And be it further enacted, That all that portion of territory delineated as California and New Mexico, on Disturnell's map of Mexico, a copy of which map was added to the late treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo between the United States and Mexico, shall be divided by an east and west line, and constitute two distinct territorial Governments. The northern portion of said territory shall be known and styled North California. The southern portion of said territory shall be known and styled South California. The dividing line between them shall be the parallel of 36 1-2 degrees of north latitude (from the Rio Grande to the Pacific,) commonly known as the Missouri compromise line. In said territory of North California, slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited. Said territory of South California shall stand in all respects, in regard to slavery, on the same footing as did the territory of Louisiana at the time of its cession to the United States. Both said territories of North and South California shall be organized in every other respect as the territory of Oregon is provided to be organized by this act.

The amendment was afterwards withdrawn.

An irregular debate ensued upon the Oregon Bill, mostly upon the slavery subject, in which Messrs. Palfrey, Tuck, Giddings, and Root of Ohio, and many southern members participated. Numerous amendments were adopted, among which was one to strike out the provision for the exercise of the Veto, by the governor of said territory.

August 2.—The House passed a Bill, establishing a territorial Government in Oregon, by a vote of 129 to 71. The Bill provides for the separate government of Oregon, and leaves the other territories to be legislated for hereafter. The Wilmot Proviso clause was retained, which prohibits slavery even after Oregon may become a State.

The Veto Power was struck out by—Yeas, 132; Nays, 63.

The motion to strike out the Ordinance of 1787, was lost by—Yeas, 88; Nays, 114.

SENATE.—THURSDAY, August 10.—Mr. Webster addressed the Senate on the Oregon Bill. He said—It is desirable, Sir, that there should be established a proper Government for the territory of Oregon; and I am willing to vote for the Bill to establish such Government which has come to us from the House of Representatives; but, if amended as proposed by the proposition for amendment now under the consideration of the Senate, I shall not be able to vote for the Bill. The 14th section of this Bill provides that,—The inhabitants of said territory shall be entitled to enjoy all and singular the rights, privileges, and advantages granted and secured to the people of the territories of the United States northwest of the Ohio, by the articles of contract contained in an Ordinance for the government of said territory, passed 13th of July, 1787, and shall be subject to all the conditions, and restrictions, and prohibitions of said articles of compact imposed upon the people of said territory. It is well known, that by the Ordinance of 13th of July, 1787, involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, was excluded from the northwest territory. Mr. Webster continued:—The proposal now before the Senate, is to give a reason for applying that rule to the territory of Oregon, and that reason is in the words of the amendment:—"Inasmuch as the said territory is north of the parallel of 36 deg. and 30 min. of north latitude, usually known as the Missouri compromise." I understand, Sir, that when a man does an act, and undertakes to give reasons for that act, and gives but one, without suggesting that there are others, the world is fairly entitled to draw the inference that he has no other reason. For my part, Sir, I should think that with this proviso in the section, the implication would be irresistible—that if the territory were south of the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min., the proposition of the Ordinance of 1787 would not be applied. For one, I wish to avoid all committal, all traps by the way of preamble or recital; and as I do not intend to discuss this question at large, I content myself with saying, in a few words, that my opposition to the further extension of local slavery in this country, or to the increase of slave representation in Congress, is general and universal. It has no reference to the limits of latitude or points of the compass. I shall oppose all such extension, and all such increase, in all places, at all times, under all circumstances, even against all inducements, against all supposed limitation of great interests, against all combinations, against all compromise. This is short, but I hope clear and comprehensive. It is merely to announce my purpose, and I have no more to say against the Bill. If it be the pleasure of the Senate to take it as it came from the House of Representatives, it shall have my support. If amended, I shall vote against it.

Mr. BUTLER, of South Carolina, followed in a speech on the adverse side of the question. He spoke in the most vehement tone of declamation and defiance against the degradation of submission to which the north is attempting to reduce the south. He was opposed to this Bill, because, if we admit the principle it contains, the south is lost. He repeated this declaration, emphatically, several times,—That if a law is passed, excluding slavery from territories adapted to slave-labour, he would, before God, advise his constituents to go out with their slaves and occupy the country—and go out, with arms in their hands, prepared to maintain their rights to the last extremity.

Mr. HALE followed in a speech for the proviso, just as strong as that of Mr. Butler against it. He argued that the south, in the annexation of Texas, had agreed that Oregon should come in free: now they cry no, and demand the right to violate their pledges. South Carolina might be very determined in her position, but she would find this time that the north was in earnest, and that her position was also taken. If the south was so immoderate as to go to war in defiance of law, the north would have the moderation, the will, and the power to meet the case.

Mr. CALHOUN was opposed to the Bill and the amendment, but from very different reasons from those of Mr. Webster. The amendment was ambiguous, and he wished to be explicit in his action upon this subject. He then proceeded to a general examination of the merits of this controversy, maintaining his well-known grounds. This question will not heal itself; we shall have to settle it, and the sooner the better. The consequences will be fatal unless the evil is arrested. He gave a history of the origin of this excitement. The ignorance of the fanatics at the north started it. Jackson's proclamation of 1835, by strengthening the idea of the supremacy of the federal Government, gave strength to this cause of abolition. The question of abolition petitions had further aggravated it. The ambition of a disappointed man in the north, who owed everything to the south, had concentrated all the elements of opposition against us. But, can this go on?—No, Sir. We must settle it, or it must lead to dissolution or the overthrow of our institutions—one or both, and more likely both than one. He

dwelt upon the signs of the times tending to this awful result. The south would yield—the north would not yield. Where is to be the compromise? The only plan was the Senate Bill, lately rejected by the House; but that Bill had not been offered as an amendment to this; it was because there was no prospect of its passage. He deeply regretted this aspect of things. He defended the institution of slavery and the rights of the south, and depicted the universal distress that would follow emancipation in the south. He would not vote for any compromise upon the question; but would acquiesce, if the compromise should be assented to by senators from the north, in reference to all the territories.

Mr. MANGUM was opposed to the amendment and the Bill. He did not believe in the power of Congress over slavery in the territories.

Mr. NILES followed in a vigorous vindication of the proviso, and against all extension of slavery. Free soil and free labour were his principles on this question.

Mr. DOUGLAS moved an amendment in favour of extending the Missouri compromise to the Pacific Ocean, which was adopted by the following vote:—Yeas, 33; Nays, 21.

August 12.—The Oregon Bill, precisely as it came from the House, with the *Wilmot Proviso*, passed the Senate this day. The governor's veto amendment was lost, and the compromise amendment receded from by the following vote:—Yeas, 29; Nays, 23.

MR. POLK ON SLAVERY, OREGON, AND THE NEW TERRITORIES.

Mr. President Polk, says the *New York Tribune*, having signed the Bill providing for the organization of Oregon as free territory, has seen fit to write a message to Congress (after its adjournment), giving the very gratuitous information that *he would have voted the Bill had it applied the anti-slavery principle to any territory south of the Missouri compromise line!* The message is quite lengthy, but all of it that is material is contained in the following extract:—

"The Missouri question had excited intense agitation of the public mind, and threatened to divide the country into geographical parties, alienating the feelings of attachment which each portion of our Union should bear to every other. The compromise allayed the excitement, tranquillized the popular mind, and restored confidence and fraternal feeling. Its authors were hailed as public benefactors.

"I do not doubt that a similar adjustment of the questions now agitating the public mind would lead to the same happy results. If the legislation of Congress on the subject of the other territories shall not be adopted in a spirit of conciliation and compromise, it is impossible that the country can be satisfied, or that the most disastrous consequences shall fail to ensue.

"When Texas was admitted into the Union, the same spirit of compromise which guided our predecessors in the admission of Missouri, a quarter of a century before, prevailed without any serious opposition. The 'joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States,' approved March 1, 1845, provides that 'such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union, with or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire. And in such State or States, as shall be formed out of said territory north of the Missouri compromise line, slavery, or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited.

"The territory of Oregon lies far north of 36 deg. 30 min., the Missouri and Texas compromise line; its southern boundary is the parallel of 42, leaving the intermediate distance to be 330 geographical miles.

"And it is because the provisions of this Bill are not inconsistent with the terms of the Missouri compromise, if extended from the Rio Grande to the Pacific Ocean, that I have not felt at liberty to withhold my sanction. Had it embraced territories south of that compromise, the question presented for my consideration would have been of a far different character, and my action upon it must have corresponded with my convictions.

"Ought we now to disturb the Missouri and Texas compromises? Ought we, at this late day, in attempting to annul what has been so long established and acquiesced in, to excite sectional divisions and jealousies; to alienate the people of different portions of the Union from each other, and to endanger the existence of the Union itself?"

THE OREGON TRIUMPH.—We (says the *New York Tribune*) forgive this Congress its short-comings—we forget that it has been dilatory or deficient—we could almost ask its pardon for the harsh things we have at times felt constrained to say of it—in view of the glorious issue of the Oregon struggle. We know the merit is that of the people rather than of Congress—that it is the free spirit awakened throughout the North and West which has primarily achieved this triumph—but it is not always that we find public men wise enough to discern the signs of the times—with ears attuned to catch the deep though far utterances of public sentiment, and with hearts submissive to the popular mandate. This Congress, though beginning badly, has closed its session nobly. The victory of freedom in the organization of Oregon, though not final, is

complete so far as it goes—unmarred by a reservation, unstained by a compromise. Oregon has a regular government; she has a federal judiciary; she has ample military protection; and her soil is expressly, exclusively and for ever free soil—and all this without condition, bargain or reservation of any kind respecting the territories ceded by Mexico which yet remain to be organized. Thanks, ten thousand thanks, to the free people who decreed, and the Congress which conceded this triumph to human freedom. For the first time we think in the history of our federal government, the North presented an almost unanimous front. Only four Members of the House from Free States finally voted to fasten the Missouri Slave line on the Oregon bill; not one member of the Senate.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—The following three advertisements are specimens of the condition in which that class is held at the south, without regard to colour, which, according to Mr. Calhoun, were never "created," and most of whom would certainly have been fortunate had they never been born. The first two are from the *St. Louis Republican*, and the last from a Georgian paper:—

"NEGROES WANTED AND BOARDED.—The highest cash price paid for young likely negroes, at 104, Locust-street, between Third and Fourth, adjoining Girard's Stables.

"N. B.—Our house will be well secured, and afford the advantages of a jail, surrounded by walls, and a basement cell in it.

"WHITE AND TOOLY."

"ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber, living in Lexington, Mo., on Sunday, the 23rd of April, a negro man, named 'Adrian,' about twenty-three years old. Said boy is a bright mulatto, wears his hair long; had on when he left, black pants, grey jeans coat, black glazed hat; no clothes with him except what he had on; no scars recollected except one large scar on one of his hands, occasioned by his hand being caught in the machinery of a steam-mill. The scar is still fresh in his hand. He was raised in St. Louis by Mr. Gabriel Paul, and it is thought that he is making his way for that place. I will give the above reward for said boy if taken up out of the State, or fifty dollars if taken up out of the county, or twenty-five dollars if taken in the county, AND DELIVERED TO ME IN LEXINGTON, DEAD OR ALIVE.

"THOS. HINKLE."

"TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away, on the 11th of June, Washington, a bright mulatto, about thirty years of age, five feet nine or ten inches high, has lost one or two of his upper front teeth, blue eyes, usually wears whiskers, and has a downcast look when spoken to. As he is of very bright complexion, he may attempt to pass for a white man.

"I will pay the above reward for his delivery at my plantation, or ten dollars for his confinement in any jail in the State, and fifty dollars for evidence that will convict any white person, or persons, for harbouring him.

"M. W. GRACEY.

"Macon, Marengo co., July 11, 1848."

WASHINGTON.—SLAVE PENS.—The slave pens of this city are well sustained. The glorious stars and stripes of this far-famed and Christian Republic wave over them in triumph, and indicate to the law-protected slave-catcher, and slave-holder, where they can find a haven of rest and safety for the manacled beings that power places within their iron grasp. As I strolled past one of these Republican coops a few evenings since, I saw issuing from a side-door of the house adjoining the pen, a coloured young man. He came out to the road, and overtook me in my walk, and as he was about to pass, I made an inquiry, to gain his attention, in regard to the distance to the arsenal, and what my shortest course would be? He answered, with much frankness and accuracy, this, and many other questions that I put to him. After gaining his confidence, and "wiring myself into his good graces," I inquired if he was a slave? He replied, that he belonged to a Mr. —, who owned the house and pen near by. After giving me some account of his master, he answered inquiries in regard to the subject most upon my mind—the slave pen. I learned from him that large numbers of slaves had been kept in that dismal place for months past—that they were constantly coming and going, and his business was to carry their food to them. They are generally crowded together, and some who are apt to believe that they are *not* chattels, are secured by irons upon the hands and feet. He informed me that his master was expecting a drove of a hundred before long. Some of these slaves are brought here and sold, others are taken to the far South. They come and go by night and by day, though the night is generally preferred for such deeds of darkness, during the session of Congress. A few days since, a drove of some thirty were taken South, after being kept for some two months within hearing of the Capitol. This insult to the freemen of the North, this gross violation of human and Divine law, this damnable work is being practised constantly in this district, under the semblance of law, with the sanction of Congress, and unrebuked by the

Committee of the district. How long will such monstrosities be permitted to exist? Just so long as the people of the North will that they should. Let us have men, who, like a few noble spirits here, dare to give utterance to the God-given truths of the age, and whose aspirations are higher than party and office, and the idolators of slavery will soon be made to know and to feel that "there is a God in Israel."—*Washington Paper*.

MARYLAND.—A public meeting was held in Cecil Co. Md. on the 5th inst. to give public expression to the sentiments of the citizens of that county, on the question of prohibiting slavery in the territories of the United States.

The following were among the resolutions adopted:—

Resolved, That as citizens of Maryland, having ample opportunities of observing the workings of the institution of slavery, we deem it to be our duty thus publicly to declare, that in our opinion it is a political, social, and moral evil of the first magnitude, the direct tendency of which is to convert the energy of the community into indolence, and its power into weakness. That it has done, and is now doing more to paralyze the energies and retard the prosperity of the people of this State than all other causes.

Resolved, That, in our opinion, the prosperity of the country, the happiness of the people, and the perpetuity of our free republican institutions, will be best promoted by prohibiting slavery from all the territories of the United States.

MEXICAN ABHORRENCE OF SLAVERY EXTENSION.—Public attention has not been sufficiently called to the fact that, in the negotiations between Mr. Trist and the Mexican Commissioners, the strongest repugnance was manifested by the Mexican Commissioners to the cession of territory, with a prospect of the introduction of slavery therein. The following is an extract from Trist's letter to Mr. Buchanan, dated September 4, 1848.

"Among the points which came under discussion, was the exclusion of slavery from all territory which should pass from Mexico. In the course of their remarks on the subject, I was told that if it were proposed to the people of the United States to part with a portion of their territory, in order that the INQUISITION should be therein established, the proposal could not excite stronger feelings of ABHORRENCE than those awakened in Mexico by the prospect of the introduction of slavery into any territory parted with by her. Our conversation on this topic was perfectly frank.

"I concluded by assuring them that the BARE MENTION of the subject in any treaty to which the United States was a party, was an absolute impossibility; that no President of the United States would dare to present any such treaty to the Senate; and that if it were in their power to offer me the whole territory described in our project, increased ten-fold in value, and, in addition to that, covered a foot thick all over with pure gold, upon the single condition that slavery should be excluded therefrom, I could not entertain the offer for a moment, nor think even of communicating it to Washington."

How will the American people stand in the estimation of the civilized world, if they shall extend the curse of slavery over territory thus acquired, and inflict its evils upon the Mexican population, who have been transferred, not only without their assent, but against their earnest remonstrances?—*New York Tribune*.

SOOLOO.—We have been favoured, says the *Colombo Observer*, with a copy of the *Straits Times Extra*, of March 7, which we reprint in full, as about the most extraordinary record we have ever seen of man's assumption, and tremendous execution of God's prerogative of retributive vengeance:—

"By the arrival here, last night, of the Spanish war-steamer *Reina da Castilla*, particulars have been received of a most gallant attack on the Balangigni pirates. On one or two occasions the Governor-General at Manilla had written to the Sultan of Sooloo to exterminate the pirates at Balangigni, but the Sultan having neglected to do so, the Spanish government very properly undertook the task, and has ably performed it. The Manilla authorities resolved to punish the pirates, who, for years, have made descents on the coasts of Luconia, and carried away into captivity Spanish subjects. The expedition left Manilla, Feb. 5. The Spanish expedition comprised three war steamers, two war schooners, six gun boats, eight small ditto, 600 infantry, fifty artillery, with two field-pieces. On arrival at the chief haunt of the pirates, the island Balangigni, the place was taken by assault, after a most obstinate and daring resistance; the work of extermination continuing from Feb. 15 to 25. Two fortresses, ably defended, were assaulted and taken. The attacking force lost one infantry captain, and twenty privates slain; also ten officers and 150 men were wounded. Of the pirates more than 150 men were killed; their resistance was most determined; in vain they were offered quarter—they resolved to perish. At one of the forts assaulted, called Sippac, the pirates, finding no chance of escape, commenced slaying their wives and children, lest they should fall into the hands of their attackers; on this the general in command interposed, and humanely saved 300 women and children, who were about being put to death by the Kris. About 200 slaves were liberated, some of whom were taken from the Philippines about two years previously; others were Dutch subjects; the general commanding offered to convey the latter to Java. The Spanish took 124 guns, chiefly brass; also fired and destroyed about 150 piratical prows,

called *pancos* and *vintas*, razed seven villages and four fortresses, called Balangigni, Singap, Sippac, and Bucontingal. About 7,000 or 8,000 cocoa-nut trees were also destroyed, and all possible means employed to render the island unfit for habitation. Some of the pirates managed to escape, favoured by the occurrence of a severe storm of wind; but we have reason to believe that the pirates of the island of Balangigni have been annihilated.

"The above, which is authentic, is all that we have received on the subject."

The extensive group of islands situated to the eastward of Borneo, and notoriously known as the rendezvous of the pirate and slave-vessels which annually visit the shores of the Philippines, Borneo, and Banca, has at last forced itself on the notice of the British Government. Sir James Brooke, Governor of Labuan, has been authorised to negotiate a treaty with Mahommed Ali al Kahier, Sultan of Sooloo, of a somewhat similar character to that already made with the Sultan of Borneo. Sir James Brooke will proceed in the *Meander* frigate to Sooloo, in a month or two, and submit the treaty for his Highness's approval and signature. The treaty proposes amity, free intercourse for purposes of trade, residence, &c., within the dominions of the Sultan of Sooloo, and provides for the discountenancing and suppression of piracy and slavery. The treaty also proposes to forego any cession of the dominions of the Sultan of Sooloo to the Governments, subjects, or citizens of any other state, without the consent of the British Government.

BORNEO PROPER.—Up to the 12th of July, the latest received date from Bruni, all was quiet at the capital of the Sultan. A little affair had transpired, in which the intervention of the senior naval officer at Labuan (Capt. Neblett, of the steamer *Phlegethon*) was solicited. It appears that some confusion reigned within the harem of Pangeeran Moormein, the prime minister at the Sultan's court, and several of the female slaves took advantage of the confusion, to elope from the Pangeeran's protection—a high crime and misdemeanour in a country where Kris law prevails. Three of them were captured, and without ceremony bowstrung. Knowing the predilection of the English to shelter the unfortunate, the Pangeeran suspected that four of them were on board the English brig *Independence*, which had left the Bruni river a day previously for Labuan, and the Pangeeran despatched a letter to Capt. Neblett at Labuan, who proceeded to examine the brig, but found not the women-slaves; the slaves, knowing that the bowstring awaited their return to Bruni, suffered themselves to be stowed away in the ship's hold.

Colonial Intelligence.

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE WEST INDIA COLONIES.—Jamaica, by the latest accounts, was assuming an attitude calculated to cause the deepest solicitude to the Government, and, it is to be feared, no slight intestine disquietude to herself. There is reason to apprehend that considerable difficulty will be experienced in carrying on the Queen's Government in that island. Not that we mean to say the people are actually ripe for revolt at this moment, or that there are any fears that the expectations of our American friends, who, we must be all aware, look forward to the "annexation" of the British West Indies as an inevitable and not very remote event, are in the course of realization. On the contrary, desperate as are the circumstances, and exasperated as are the minds of the gentlemen of that island, there is nothing to induce the observer to come to the conclusion, notwithstanding the suspicions lately breathed in the House of Commons, that there exists among them any serious and settled design incompatible with the continuance of British connexion.

But there is reason to fear, looking at the bearing of the Assembly, that there is in Jamaica, as in other parts of the West Indies, an organised system of passive resistance in operation, which, while it cannot but be viewed as exceedingly pernicious in itself, will render it a matter of extreme difficulty to Sir Charles Grey to carry on the administration of that colony. It is said, so embarrassing was the state of public affairs, that Sir Charles had determined to meet and to consult the Assembly on the 3rd instant. Were the Assembly disposed to transact business with His Excellency, a safer and more certain method of extricating the community over which he presides from a disagreeable and a dangerous position could not be devised, than to call to the co-operation of the executive the experience and the resources of the local parliament. There is ground, however, for believing, that though called together, the Assembly will not proceed to business in a spirit at all accordant with the wishes of the Government.

Whether the example of Jamaica will be generally followed in the other colonies remains to be seen. There is reason, however, to suppose that it will not be without its influence, and that the passive resistance, of which there are so many signs in Jamaica, will not be without imitators elsewhere. Already, and, indeed, for many months past, in one island, St. VINCENT, the Assembly has, though without exceeding the limits of perfect courtesy towards the Executive,

shown an inflexible determination to cease, under existing circumstances, from the transaction of all public business. This has been accomplished, simply by the quiet but effective method of the members declining to form houses. The representative of the Queen, Sir John Campbell, finding all intercourse between himself and the representatives of the island thus brought to an end, and that the minutes of the house merely contained a record of adjournments from week to week, at length dissolved the Assembly, and called together a new one. But in vain. There was no violent canvassing; there were no newspaper addresses to the constituency. But in the same quiet manner in which they acted in the old house, the same men have been sent up to the new one, and, no doubt, will persevere in playing the same inexorable game of passive resistance, till they either obtain from the government of the mother-country the redress of whatever grievance they may have to complain of, or force them to add to those grievances by the abrogation of their free institutions.

And what can be said of the position of BRITISH GUIANA, but that she has not been loth to follow in the same wake,—but that the scenes we have recently witnessed in the Combined Court—scenes which have threatened the stoppage of the supplies—appear to be based upon the same erroneous, we must term it, principle of *frangas non flectas*—you may break, you cannot bend,—which is unfortunately characteristic at this moment of other portions of the British West Indies? Far be it from us to impute a concert and a design where none may exist; but it is impossible to deny that some of the colonial legislatures at this moment show so remarkable a coincidence in their policy, as to justify the vague suspicion, at least in the breasts of the vulgar, of the existence of some secret, well understood, and, it would seem, boldly executed arrangement. Whether such does or does not exist among the colonial leaders, and whether, if it does, the correspondence required by the recent proposal with regard to the St. Thomas Convention may not have led to that, as well as other plans, in which combination will be an element, it will be for better informed persons than ourselves to determine. Certain, however, it is, that while estrangement between the executive and legislative authorities of the colonies will have, it may be conjectured, but little effect upon the conduct of the mother-country, it will exercise an influence the most detrimental on the local institutions of the colonists themselves. A policy, therefore, which in aiming at a good, exceedingly doubtful of attainment, inflicts a certain and a positive evil, cannot, we hold, be too generally or too earnestly deprecated.—*Royal Gazette*, August 8.

JAMAICA.—We deem the following reply of the House of Assembly to the speech of the Governor of sufficient importance to give it at length.

"We, Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, thank your Excellency for your speech at the opening of the Session.

"Whilst we appreciate the motives which have induced your Excellency to call us together at this unusual period, we regret the circumstance, because, we fear, the opportunity, so anxiously sought by the inhabitants, at their many public meetings, for devising measures to avert the abandonment of properties, now too far gone for beneficial support, has passed by; and because we cannot see the propriety of issuing Treasury certificates at present, to meet the deficiency in the ways and means of the year.

"It may not be wise legislation to vote a certain amount of expenditure without the means of defraying it, but relying on relief and assistance from the Imperial Parliament, a reliance encouraged by your Excellency's assurances, contained in your opening speech to us in the last Session, we did not disturb the existing institutions of the country at that period, though we then felt assured of the utter impossibility of raising sufficient means to uphold the present outlay, unless the system of British legislation, which has brought frightful misery and desolation to the door of every inhabitant of the Colony, was materially and beneficially altered.

"Seeing now no chance of the fulfilment of those hopes, on which we were induced to rely, we feel that it were better to suffer the imputation of unwise, than oppressive legislation. With every desire, therefore, to support institutions so necessary to our social existence, we deem it our bounden duty to abstain from increasing taxation on a people no longer able to endure it.

"We agree with your Excellency, that under usual circumstances it would be a pity, having had the trouble of assembling, to separate, even by adjournment, for any considerable period, without doing something for the general and permanent benefit of the Colony; but under existing circumstances, wholly destitute as we are of means, we feel our powerless position and our utter inability to enter upon improvement of any kind. It were needless therefore to dwell at length on the various suggestions which your Excellency has made to us, doubtless with a sincere desire for our ultimate advantage.

"Your Excellency has informed us that it is your sincere conviction that the destinies of Jamaica, for many years to come, may be said to be in our hands, and that there is nothing likely to be done by the Mother Country that need prevent us, with God's blessing, and our united exertions, from making the inhabitants of this island one of the happiest of the communities of men, and an example to the western world of all that is good

in the various conditions of human society. We should indeed be happy if we could join your Excellency in this delightful anticipation; but our present gloomy position presents far different prospects, which are not brightened by the assurance of your Excellency, that we are standing in dangerous and critical circumstances, which by wilful and desperate courses, and the erroneous management of public affairs, might lead to great and signal calamity.

"We feel bound to express how deeply we deplore that your Excellency should have found it necessary, in drawing our attention to these circumstances and the proximity of neighbouring countries, to infer that there is one man in this island, or a British subject anywhere, so insane, or so divested of just and moral feeling, as to wish to retrace those steps which have led to the banishment of slavery for ever from British soil.—We, one and all, repudiate even the thought, and, on behalf of our constituents, declare, unequivocally, our belief that no such sentiment, even by stealth, has penetrated the heart of any single inhabitant of Jamaica."

PAYMENT OF WAGES.—At a public meeting lately held in Kingston, to take into consideration what should be done in consequence of the suspension of specie payment by the Planters' Bank, Mr. Hart made the following remarks:—

"The Government had but lately issued a proclamation to allay the excitement which prevailed among the lower classes, and he would inquire what had caused that excitement? It was because the planters were altogether unable to pay the demand against them for wages due to the labourers. He knew one gentleman who had left the country, and who owed to his labourers the large amount of £1,200 for wages. He was showing the cause of the dissatisfaction which was existing over the island, and he was desirous of preventing anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed. The labouring classes had hoarded up all their little means for the purpose of supplying their wants on the first of August. What will be their surprise then, when they go to the shopkeepers to purchase articles, and are told that the cheques of the Planters' Bank will not be taken? Will it satisfy the negro to tell him that the Bank is solvent? He trusted that such an explanation would be given as would restore confidence to all classes of the community, and especially to the shopkeepers, who would be the parties to whom the labouring classes would be resorting for the purchase of goods."

At a subsequent stage of the proceedings our respected townsman, George Lyons, Esq., said,—

"He would assure them, with respect to the charge made against the planters of not paying their wages, that the charge did not apply to the parish where he came from. There was no reason for such an assertion, because the labourers in Trelawny were paid up regularly."

Now it is perhaps true that in no parish in the island are labourers more regularly paid than in this parish, but we must assure Mr. Lyons that there are in the parish of Trelawny estates where the labourers seldom or ever are paid up. Were we disposed, we could name properties that have made hardly any payments for three, four, and even six months; whilst many others have only paid so much on account. These things were, doubtless, unknown to Mr. Lyons when he made the statement quoted above; one thing we are quite certain of, that it was not his wish to give utterance to what was not true.—*Messenger*, August 3.

TRINIDAD.—A public meeting was held, on the 1st of August, in the Baptist Chapel, to commemorate the abolition of slavery in these colonies. The Rev. Mr. Law in the chair. The place of meeting was crowded, and great numbers were outside, at the doors and windows. The resolutions proposed (which we give below, with the names of their movers and seconders) were very much to our liking—were unanimously passed, and, in general, supported by plain but pungent and telling remarks. The Rev. Mr. Cowen's speech, although unpretending and apparently unpremeditated, was very effective. Several of the speakers enunciated important truths. The question of immigration at the public expense was placed in a very clear light by the Rev. Mr. Brodie. Such meetings and discussions cannot fail to benefit the public, by stimulating and prompting inquiry. Mental stagnation is painfully prevalent in the community. Whatever tends to stir that stagnation, and awaken a desire for knowledge and a spirit of investigation, should be hailed and encouraged. Public meetings are calculated, in no mean measure, to accomplish this.

1st Resolution.—That this meeting declares its utter abhorrence of slavery as a crime against God, and as a deed of cruelty and oppression towards the individuals who are the subjects of it; and commemorates with special pleasure its abolition throughout the British and other West Indian colonies as an act of benevolence and justice, notwithstanding the subsequent pecuniary embarrassments said to have resulted therefrom to their agricultural interests.

Moved by Alexander Fitzjames, Esq.; seconded by C. Y. Jardine, Esq.

2nd Resolution.—That this meeting rejoices at the amazing change of sentiment which has of late been expressed by a large portion of the proprietary body of these colonies in reference to slavery; and hopes the day is not far distant when the subjects of every other country shall be delivered from a system fraught with so many evils to all classes, and unite with us to celebrate universal emancipation.

Moved by Rev. George Cowen; seconded by John O'Brien, Esq.

3rd Resolution.—That this meeting deprecates in the strongest possible manner the various attempts made, since freedom, by interested parties to render nugatory that righteous measure, and to despoil the emancipated population of the advantages it promised them, by the importation of foreign labour at an immense expense to the colony; and would protest against the gross injustice inflicted upon our population and the labouring community generally, who are made to bear the chief burden of immigration, by which their interests are directly and seriously injured.

Moved by Rev. George Brodie; seconded by Michael Patience, Esq.

4th Resolution.—That this meeting is astonished the British Government should allow, on any terms, the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market, and thus stultify their anti-slavery principles, and directly encourage slavery in the most cruel and accursed forms.

Moved by Rev. Alexander Kennedy; seconded by George Fitzwilliam, Esq.—*Trinidadian*, August 3rd.

FRENCH GUIANA.—We find the following intelligence concerning the French colony of Cayenne, copied from a Martinique paper, of the 2nd of August. The colony was tranquil. The negroes were quietly awaiting the great day of the abolition of slavery, fixed for the 10th August. The Governor had issued the following address to them:—

Proclamation of the Commissary-General of the Republic to the Blacks of French Guiana.

MY FRIENDS,—In a few weeks slavery will cease to exist in Guiana. On the 10th of August next, you will enter upon a new form of society; you will be all free. The magistrates who have recently visited the different parts of the colony, have explained to you what will be your position in this state of things. To be free is not to be quit of every obligation. On the contrary, as it is with all the world, you will henceforth be responsible to society and to the laws, for the manner in which you conduct yourselves. It is God himself who created man to live in society, and does not permit him to gratify his desires without restraint.

At the same time that He gives us a free will, and bestows upon us certain rights, He has likewise imposed upon us certain duties, which it is necessary that we should know how to obey; and you must respect the rights of others, as they respect yours. Already you have seen your former masters, animated with the spirit of paternity and conciliation, come to arrange with you the terms upon which you may be induced to give them your labour. It is the acknowledgment of your liberty. Being freemen, your labour belongs to you: no man can exact it of you, without having previously agreed to pay you a reasonable sum for it: you will no longer be obliged to give it to a master. But your labour will have no value unless you can apply it, and in order to apply it you must have recourse to the owners of estates who are disposed to receive and to make use of it. All these estates belong to certain persons (*deshabitants*). It is necessary, therefore, that you should come to an understanding with those to whom the soil belongs, in order that you may put to account the labour that belongs to you.

Upon the estates where you are now settled, there are huts and provision grounds, which the owner requires for the accommodation of the labourers that are necessary for the cultivation of the estate; these huts and provision grounds have a certain proportionate value in estimating the value of the whole property; if you continue to occupy them, you must pay rent for them to the owner, or give a certain part of your labour in return; it is only just that you should do so, and, as you will always have to encounter this obligation amongst the first, wherever you go, I recommend you, before changing your place of abode, to consider what advantages you have there, and whether it might not be more to your interest to remain in those cottages and grounds in which you have lived and laboured, and to which you are accustomed, rather than to go elsewhere to make a trial, which cannot fail to be attended with many difficulties at first, since you will have to begin everything afresh. I must also remind you of the condition of the aged and infirm, who cannot move about like you. These old and infirm people have laboured in their days, and have assisted to bring you up. Humanity makes it a duty to you, to unite with your old masters in providing for their comfort and support. It is a charge binding upon every community; and if you make no arrangements with a view to it, by remaining in your respective places of abode; if you leave these in search of other settlements, what will prevent the proprietors of estates in their turn from abandoning the case of these helpless creatures, when their estates shall become unprofitable to them from the want of hands to cultivate them? I think it my duty to represent all these things to you, as your friend, because I take a great interest in you, and an interest that you deserve, for I regard you as men who are sensible of the value of the boon that has been conferred upon you, who are capable of listening to the voice of reason, and who, being free from this time hence, would not wish to retrograde in the paths of civilization.

It is thus that I warn you against forsaking the work on large estates, to settle upon small spots of ground to raise provisions. You will not be able to sell cassava, plantains, and things of that kind, anywhere else except within the colony. French vessels will not load with them. And

if a large quantity of them comes into the market, you must lower the price; indeed, you will soon find it difficult to sell them, and you will be unable to procure money to purchase other provisions and articles that you will have need of for yourselves. Foreigners will not bring you salt provisions, hardware, cotton and linen stuffs, hats, shirts, &c., unless they find in the colony sugar, coffee, cotton or spices to purchase in return. It is only by the sale of these articles of produce, that the proprietors, on their parts, will be in a position to pay you for your daily labour, and that you yourselves will be able to procure money. You can easily understand the nature of this combination, which makes your labour necessary to the lands and the works of the planter, whilst it makes the planter equally dependent upon your labour to put his land and machinery to account; and that without a mutual agreement between you on this point, the colony would be condemned to raise no more produce for exportation, and to return to a savage state.

You have yet some days before you; think over these remarks. Those of you who wish to leave the properties upon which you have been located to the present moment, may do so. I tell you again, my friends, you will be free; but you ought to come to an understanding with the planters, to whom you are about to transfer your labour. National workshops will be opened on the Government properties, particularly at La Gabrielle, for those who may not find employment upon private estates, and, according to their ability and labour, they will receive a just remuneration. Government will provide for you the means of employment, but it does not desire to encourage a spirit of roaming about; and the persons who should give themselves up to indolence and idleness, and who should think that they will be allowed to pass their time idly roving about the country, or fishing in the rivers, or who should squat upon the Government lands, will be arrested by the police, and brought before the magistrates, who will send them on to the correctional workshops. It will be the same with them and with those who are disorderly, and who commit theft or depredations. Guiana must not esteem as citizens any but the honest and the industrious, who have a certain place of abode, and work in the field for their support; for the encouragement and protection of such every measure should be adopted.

I do not speak to you of the remuneration of your labour. Various arrangements might exist in respect of this. You may enter into agreement with the proprietors, upon whose lands you are located, to work upon condition of receiving a portion of the crop; you may carry on the cultivation of the lands, for half of the produce; you may give your labour in return for wages, by the task or the day's work. It is a matter to be settled between you and the proprietors, and in respect of which the Government feels that it ought not to interfere in consideration of your being free agents. The variety of cultivation and of situation with which this beautiful country of Guiana is favoured, is also suited to these different arrangements that you may choose to make. But, once that the terms are arranged, and the agreements made, it behoves you to act up to them with fidelity and diligence, and not to suffer them to drop through any mistakes which are frequently owing to the unseasonableness of the weather, or to a first attempt. If there should arise differences between you and your employers, there will be district courts established, where your complaints will be heard, and be decided upon equitably, and where every one shall have justice done to him.

My friends, you are upon the point of approaching a great trial. The Republic has called you, without an intermediate state, from slavery to freedom. The foreign colonies look on with astonishment. Do not give way to first impressions. Reflect, and show to them that you, as well as your brothers in Europe, know how to sustain the noble device of France—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—by works of honourable and useful labour, by maintaining public tranquillity, by preserving the bonds of family relationship, and by yielding obedience to the obligations of our religion and our country.

MARTINIQUE.—Our advices from Martinique are to the 12th of August. The elections for representatives to the National Assembly had terminated on the 9th, without any of those disorders which it had been apprehended would have attended this first practical application of the principle of universal suffrage among the *ci-devant* slaves. We understand that the last packet brought out instructions from the home government against extending the suffrage to the lately emancipated class: but the elections had already terminated when those instructions were received. The *Martinique Courrier*, of the 12th, gives the following account of the elections:—

"The elections to the National Assembly, which commenced on Wednesday, the 9th August, were brought to a close at St. Pierre, in the section of the Mouillage, at two o'clock. M. Papy, M. Bisette, and M. Schoelcher, were elected."

BOURBON.—We have received news from Bourbon to the 25th of July.

Intelligence had been received there of the revolution in France, and the whole colony expected an immediate emancipation of the slaves without indemnity.

The Governor of Bourbon issued the following proclamation as soon as the news of the change of government arrived:—

"Inhabitants of Bourbon.—Journals and private letters arrived in this colony, by way of India, announce that important events were accomplished in France during the last days of February. We shall, no doubt, soon receive official communications which will give us the exact details.

"Under these circumstances, the duty of each individual is indicated by the interests of all. To maintain public order and tranquillity; to be provided with supplies of food; to economise the resources of the colony: such is the task, under every government, of the local administration; and it will be performed with zeal and devotion.

"Your excellent feeling, and the high intelligence you have of your real interest, gives me the assurance that you will also fulfil your task, and that my voice will be heard when I demand of you, in the name of all that you wish to preserve, to remain calm, to arrest everything that may lead to disorders which you are so interested to prevent.

"Inhabitants of Bourbon, you know the feelings which animate me—you know the welfare of your country has never ceased to be the constant object of my efforts; it will be also the recompence as long as your confidence and your will lend me the strength necessary to accomplish it.

"St. Denis, 24th May, 1848.

"Le Gouverneur,

"JOSEPH GRAEB."

ST. THOMAS.—24th July, 1848.—The following account of the circumstances attending emancipation in the Danish Islands, is taken from the correspondence of the *St. Lucia Palladium*:—The negro or slave populations in the Danish West India Islands have enjoyed every opportunity of being cognizant of the events which have transpired in the neighbouring islands. Hence the early period of their commencing to urge their wish for freedom. General Scholten has presided over these islands ever since 1816. Within the last ten years he has evinced every disposition to meet the wishes of the slave population, who have at different intervals shown their confidence in him. On each occasion of his visiting Europe, they entertained the idea that his visits were connected with the project of emancipation, but during the last two years, the slaves began to manifest impatience as to the proceedings of General Scholten. Matters being far from satisfactory, it is to be presumed that such representations were laid before the Government at home, as to open their eyes to the crisis, and make them acknowledge the necessity of prompt action in the matter, (notwithstanding the secret yet energetic remonstrance of the Spanish authorities.) It was with no little astonishment, therefore, that the extraordinary, the insensate decision of the Danish monarch was received, when, early last year, General Scholten caused a decree to be published, announcing to the slaves in the Danish colonies that *twelve years* must elapse before the unfree should obtain their freedom. The slaves received this extraordinary announcement with evident discontent, while the intelligent portion of the inhabitants pronounced it to be exceedingly injudicious and of a mischievous tendency. Nor was it long before these impressions were verified. The labouring population ceased to show in their ordinary occupations the zeal and obedience which previously marked their conduct; while the planters, on the other hand, showed their activity in reporting the reluctance of their slaves to the police, although the effect of such complaints fell far short of removing the evil. It soon became obvious to every one conversant with the local circumstances of these islands, that a great and material error had been committed in protracting emancipation to a period which could not be looked to by the patience and temper of the slaves without dissatisfaction.

A few months ago, General Scholten again returned from Europe. The slaves then declared that they had been made free by Queen Victoria, and that the *Danish authorities were in possession of the means*. During the holidays in December last, the slaves of St. John's and St. Croix exhibited strong symptoms of discontent. The authorities of the Spanish island of Puerto Rico must have been informed by their agents of the feeling which prevailed among the labourers; and Count de Reus, in May last, sent an agent to the Danish Governor-General, offering an armed force to keep in subjection and maintain the slave system. This officious interference coming to the notice of the slaves, aroused their suspicions, and strengthened their determination to make a demonstration towards obtaining their liberty. On the 2nd July, the negroes on several estates entered into a combination. On the 3rd, they broke out in a general insurrection, declaring their intention to obtain their freedom at all cost. This formidable aspect of things, and the fearful consequences likely to attend the further withholding of the demands of the slaves, compelled General Scholten to grant what they required. To this effect, His Excellency, on the evening of the 3rd, amidst the greatest excitement imaginable, issued a proclamation announcing the immediate emancipation of all the slaves in the Danish West India colonies. This proclamation declared, that they should retain their houses and provision-grounds for three months, and that the aged and infirm should be supported by their late owners until further orders. This proclamation was received with the greatest pleasure by the blacks; but the Irish and Scotch planters appear to have thrown some impediment in the way of giving a fair experiment to the plan; the militia had to turn out, and an unfortunate collision took place between a small detachment and a body of negroes. In this melancholy affray, ten or twelve negroes were killed.

This circumstance tended to infuriate the feelings of the negro population; and during the effervescence which ensued, it is lamentable to state, that several plantations were set on fire, and the police station at the west-end, and a store belonging to one of the merchants were demolished. General Scholten was opposed to any violent demonstration against the negroes; and, in consequence of that disposition, in opposition to the planters and others, the General had to resign his office of Governor-General of the Danish West India Islands. Immediately after this, a provisional government was organized, and despatches were addressed to Governor Oxholm, of St. Thomas. On receipt of these despatches, Governor Oxholm succeeded in obtaining the concurrence of the Royal Mail Company's agent here, for the purpose of sending the British steamer *Eagle* to Puerto Rico, in quest of a military force to coerce the negroes at St. Croix. The Spanish Consul took passage in the steamer for Puerto Rico, to remove, if necessary, any scruples which might be shown by the Captain General of Puerto Rico.

On the 4th, General Scholten's proclamation was published here, and sent on to be proclaimed in St. John's. On the 9th, the R. M. S. *Eagle* anchored at Bassin, St. Croix, and landed 600 infantry, 100 sappers, and two pieces of mounted howitzer. Previous to this arrival, the militia had succeeded in re-establishing order, but after destroying, as it is reported, a great number of lives. The negroes, on being caught, were brought to trial, and were shot. These executions, or the principal portion of them, took place during the interregnum of the provisional government.

Governor Oxholm embarked from this, and assumed the Governor-Generalship of St. Croix. Order appears to be restored.

On the 14th, General Scholten arrived in this port from St. Croix. Without delay he embarked on board the *Thames* steamer. His Excellency declined receiving any visitors. The *Thames* left for England on the 15th. Previous to General Scholten's departure, several addresses were presented to him, expressive of the feeling of the inhabitants on his leaving for Europe.

The Spanish troops have been placed in two divisions; one division is quartered in Bassin, and the other in West-End. So far, their services have not been deemed necessary; and it is hoped that the improved state of things will cause these troops to be sent back to Puerto Rico.

The intelligence from St. Croix, brought us at the time, caused a considerable degree of excitement here; but it is gratifying to observe that the labouring population have shown themselves worthy of the boon conferred upon them. It is highly difficult at present to hazard an opinion relative to the events which have taken place in St. Croix: the more so, when not possessing the authentic statements necessary in a case fraught like this with the deepest importance. The only fact which I am at liberty to state, is, that I have not seen a single account which mentions the destruction of the life of one individual of the white class. There are various estimates as to the number of blacks who have been killed in the country, or shot after trial, from 60 to 300. It is difficult to fix upon the correct version.

General Scholten is on his way to Europe, to explain his conduct to his Government. His enemies will put forward all their energies to effect his destruction; but I have every reason to anticipate that he will establish the propriety and justice of his proceedings, warranted as they were by the unlimited powers, and (as it is said) the secret instructions which he held from the king. General Scholten enjoyed the esteem of some of the most influential members of the British aristocracy. It is said that he has been in steady and active correspondence with the directors of the Anti-slavery Society. Amid the storms by which he is surrounded, I can scarcely believe that the British Government will hold back that support which he requires in the present emergency. With the countenance of the leading men in England, General Scholten will obtain a complete triumph. Parties here, look with deep interest to the result. Indeed, considering the embarrassment in which Denmark is placed at this moment, we look with anxiety to coming events, aware that their results must in one way or another affect these islands. The prominent idea which occupies the minds of the coloured population is, that the British Government will act promptly in securing these possessions as a guarantee for the large amount due to England by Denmark, and in annihilating Spanish influence.

All has been pretty quiet here, says the correspondent of the *Port of Spain Gazette*, so far as regards our own population, and the emancipated labourers are in general returning to their work.

The following regulations for the government of the labourer have been issued by authority:—

Art. 1st.—The Agrarian labourer is not permitted to enter a town without a passport from the employer for whom he labours, and the employer shall give passports only to those who shall have worked steadily on the estate.

Art. 2nd.—Every Agrarian labourer shall hire himself for three months, and have \$2 per month for wages, with a house, food, and provision grounds, and the privilege of cutting grass and burning coal, but shall be bound to work from sunrise to five o'clock p.m., every day, except on Saturday and Sunday.

Art. 3.—Country labourers are not permitted to come to the towns with articles for sale, without a passport and a certificate from their employer that the goods to be sold are *bonâ fide* the property of the bearer. Any person buying from a labourer who has not both passport and certificate, will be subject to a penalty of \$5.

A Commission is now sitting to make regulations for the government of house-servants, porters, &c.

All persons not natives of the colony, and out of employment, are to be sent off the island, and the strictest police is enforced, for which purpose 200 young men have been sworn in as special constables, who are kept on duty day and night.

This precaution has principally arisen from a belief that there was a conspiracy on foot amongst the runaway Danish slaves, now in the Virgin Island, to come down upon this colony on a buccaneering expedition.

CUBA.—Great changes are at hand in Cuba. The whole island throbs with the suppressed fires of revolution. Nine-tenths of the natives are ready to strike for independence and annexation, but the cost of the blow is so terrible, that they hesitate and delay until all is prepared. The other sections of the island wait for Havana, and Havana lays under the guns of Moro and Cabanas so completely that one day's bombardment would bury it in ruins. The Spanish Government builds its forts against its own citizens, as much as against invasion. There is not an important town on the island that is not mastered by a fort, and the whole Spanish system tends to compel the inhabitants to gather and live under the cannon of their oppressors. But for this, the ripe and well-organized spirit of revolution would ere now have produced its inevitable fruits—liberty and independence—and even so, the day of change is visibly approaching. Our citizens and Government are hated and insulted as the teachers of dangerous truths by the Cuban authorities, but they are trembling with fear behind their veil of bombastic pretensions.

The new herald of liberty, *La Verdad*, has penetrated every corner of the island, and the more it is prohibited, the more everybody seems to know and cite its doctrines. Our correspondents all agree in declaring there is not a Cuban, of standing and intelligence, who does not see and quote it. Like a bouquet of roses in a lady's boudoir, the fragrance of "truth" pervades the whole atmosphere of the island. Spain must destroy the garden of liberty—the Union—before she can check the growth of the beautiful flowers of free thought and free speech, or prevent the Cubans from inhaling their refreshing odour. They will be transplanted to the genial soil of Cuba by her longing children, though they have to water them with their blood. She may send here her spies, titled or untitled—she may plant a King-serving press to "*Echo*" and re-echo the praises and defence of despotism, but all will be labour lost. God has written "*Liberty for Cuba*" among the stars of our republican sky, and by our purchase or her own act, she will speedily accomplish her destiny.—*New York Sun*.

[From information received by the last mail it appears that several gentlemen who had visited the United States, for the purpose of making proposals to the American Government, have been incarcerated by order of the Spanish Government.]

SURINAM.—Under the present circumstances, it is more than ever the duty of every well-disposed person to fix seriously his thoughts on the signs of the times, which from outwards so particularly and directly have the greatest influence on our colonial affairs. From the consideration thereof we may draw results which may materially affect and become useful in our present situation.

I will save myself the trouble to mention events which keep at present the whole of Europe in agitation, and create a certain suspense which is felt so detrimentally in this part of the world—events which must be fresh in the recollection of all who have read the last European newspapers.

That these events greatly and perniciously affect every branch of business in the colony has been proved again, not later than yesterday, by the execution sale in Nickerie.

I will only mention the sale of the plantations *Leasowes* and *Clyde*, c. a. for 41,250*l*. (equal to \$16,500)—an estate with 350 slaves, and a prospect of a considerable cotton crop, which may be reaped in a very short time. As advantageous as this sale is to the purchaser, so detrimental is it to the seller and his creditors. This relatively low price can only be attributed to the momentary panic and uneasiness which has so entirely possessed every mind as to the future state of colonial properties.

There is certainly an appearance of dark, threatening, tempestuous clouds at the political horizon of Europe; but of two evils we must choose the less, and it is surely better for some time to postpone sales, than by the continuance thereof to injure the interests of many, and create an appearance of a decrease in the value of properties, which may hereafter be considered as a standing rate, and occasion measures of a most pernicious nature.

I will not attribute this decrease in value only to the circumstances alluded to; every body may have observed, as well as myself, that we must also look for the reasons in events which belong to the long past; but this is certain, that the *present panic*, in which we all share, contributes greatly to this decrease in value of property.

To make this unfortunate situation as harmless as possible must be the desire and striving of every interested party.—*From the Surinam Weekly Paper, July 9.*

. We have received, through our own correspondent, information as to the present state of affairs in Surinam. We are informed that serious apprehensions are entertained of a rise among the negroes. The inhabitants are said to be in a state of alarm. They can perceive that the storm is brewing, and that before long a struggle will be made for freedom. With a knowledge of what has been lately occurring around them it can hardly be expected that the negroes will remain unmoved. We look with anxious solicitude for further information.

Miscellanea.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—By the *Prince Regent*, arrived off Falmouth on the 7th, from Sierra Leone, we have advices from the slave-coast to the middle of July, and from the more remote stations to the latter end of June. The *Dolphin* has captured a slaver with 450 slaves on board, after a very hard chase of seven hours. Upwards of eighty shot from her long pivot-32-pounder were fired at the slaver, and about forty of the number, it is said, struck, committing fearful havoc with the vessel and horrible slaughter among her human cargo, affording another proof of the humanity (?) of our system for the suppression of this wicked trade. One shot is stated to have literally taken the heads off six slaves, and wounded double that number; in addition to which, in the hurry of shipment, no fewer than fifty poor enchained wretches were drowned in the surf. It is no uncommon thing to lose 150 lives in that manner where the surf is bad. The *Star* chased a slaver (a schooner) for twelve hours on the 21st of June, from Badagry to Palma, but the fleetness of the slaver saved her, and she got away—a very frequent occurrence. The *Britomart*, this month (June), chased two full slaver schooners off Whydah, and, after a most spirited run, lost them both. A slave schooner, well rigged and handled, will elude the grasp of any sailing ship in chase of her, unless the latter get within range and knock the spars away; but what an awful sacrifice of life and limb, even in that case, may follow the striking her, as seen in the capture made by the *Dolphin* above-mentioned. The captain of the vessel taken by the *Dolphin* has lately made several successful runs; and the same man was taken in a slaver captured by the *Grappler* in last December. Such is only a trifling sample of the success (?) attending the efforts of the cruisers to put down the slave-trade on this pestilential coast, and such the result of the risk of life of some of Britain's bravest defenders in the futile effort.

Further advices from the coast of Africa state, that Her Majesty's steamer, *Grappler*, on her passage from Fernando Po to the south coast, captured, on the 14th of July, the brigantine *Sapphira*, fully equipped for the slave-trade; and on the 15th, two hours after leaving the Congo, off Point Pedron, another beautiful vessel, the *Felicidade* (179 tons), with 379 slaves on board, making her tenth prize in sixteen months, four of which were full vessels, having on board 2,046 negroes.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.	Subscriptions.
Tottenham.—Horne, Martha	10 0
Fox, Samuel	1 1 0
Alton.—Curtis, William	2 0 0
Curtis, William, Jun.	1 0 0
Holmes, W.	2 0 0
Crowley, Abraham	2 0 0
Coleby, B. H.	2 0 0
Bell, S. S. and H.	1 0 0
Bransby, N.	0 10 0
Selle, S.	0 5 0
Smith, Ann	0 5 0
Warner, Ann	0 5 0
Andrew, Edward	0 2 6
North Shields.—Brown, William, Jun.	0 5 0
Collinson, Simpson	0 2 6
Fawcus, Margaret	0 10 0
Mease, Solomon	0 5 0
Owen, John	0 2 6
Pow, Robert	1 1 0
Procter, Joseph	1 1 0
Procter, John R.	0 10 6
Richardson, Mary	0 15 0
Richardson, Mary J.	0 10 0
Spence, John F.	0 5 0
Spence, Joseph	0 5 0
Young, Mary	1 0 0